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ON CIC. FAM. xv. 20, VERG. (?) CATAL. 10, AND VENTIDIUS

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Twenty years ago W. Sternkopf conclusively demonstrated that Cicero's letter to Trebonius, *Fam.* xv. 20, was written at the very end of the year 46 B.C., or the beginning of 45, when Trebonius had set out from Rome to go by way of Gaul to Caesar, who was then engaged in the Spanish war. It is not necessary to rehearse Sternkopf's argument, with which in general the present writer agrees. But the argument was not sufficient to convince Messrs. Tyrrell and Purser (*Correspondence of Cicero*, V, 221 f.), who "with much hesitation . . . thought it best to adhere to the ordinary view which places this letter in April 710 (44), especially as that date suits the time at which Ventidius Bassus may be assumed to have commenced his candidature for the praetorship." Mr. Purser, in his Oxford text of the *Letters*, though he wisely alters many dates assigned in the Tyrrell-Purser edition, yet clings to this, but with some hesitation. The joint editors of the *Correspondence* make but an unsatisfactory answer to a few of the points advanced by Sternkopf, and it is easy to see that their conviction in favor of "the ordinary view," as they term it, rests finally upon their interpretation of the first paragraph of the letter, which Sternkopf left in this aspect untouched. That this is the last defence of their stronghold appears plainly in the final clause of their statement quoted above,

and in the notes that follow in their edition. It is with this introductory paragraph, accordingly, that I have ventured to deal in this paper.

Cicero's words at the opening of his letter are as follows: "'Oratorem' meum (sic enim inscripsi) Sabino tuo commendavi: natio me hominis impulit ut ei recte putarem—nisi forte candidatorum licentia hic quoque usus hoc subito cognomen arripuit; etsi modestus eius uultus sermoque constans habere quiddam a Curibus uidebatur. Sed de Sabino satis." That is, Cicero has entrusted a copy of his recently finished treatise, "Orator" (for this is the title that he has finally decided upon), to a certain Sabinus, a friend or agent of Trebonius, for transmission to the latter person. The name Sabinus, as indicating his origin from the traditionally rude but upright country-people of Sabinum, created a presumption that he was an honest and trustworthy man—"unless, indeed, he too has followed the fashion of our candidates for office, and has recently and arbitrarily adopted 'Sabinus' as a cognomen—but yet his unassuming bearing and straightforward speech had a smack of Cures, and so he is probably a genuine Sabinus and not a pretender."

We evidently have here a little side-jest, in the frequent fashion of Cicero's humor, upon the action of some recent candidate, or candidates, for office, who, having no inherited *cognomen*, have adopted one in order (so we must apparently understand Cicero) to further the chances of their candidacy by appearing more in the fashion of the higher circles of society. We are left to guesses in the matter, for there is no other extant reference to the assumption of a lacking *cognomen* for election purposes, although instances are by no means unknown of the addition of a *cognomen* within historical times to the *nomen* which had been borne without suffix by the particular man's ancestors. That *cognomina*, like "Sabinus" itself, at the time of their first assumption not infrequently denoted local origin is a commonplace of knowledge. This particular Sabinus, a mere agent or dependent of Trebonius, a man of evidently humble position and unknown to Cicero before this interview, is not elsewhere mentioned.

But Fr. Bücheler thought something more could be made of the name, if not of the man. In an article on the Vergilian *Catalepton*

printed in the *Rheinisches Museum* thirty years ago (XXVIII [1883], 518 f.) he argues that Cicero's quip can only mean that some candidate of the day had assumed the particular *cognomen* Sabinus, and he essays to identify this putative Sabinus *candidatus* with a certain mule-driver who is the subject of an amusing parody (Verg. *Catal.* 10 [8]) of the fourth poem of Catullus (Mommson says that Bücheler follows Victorius in this). Petrus Victorius (1499-1584) had three centuries earlier suggested the identification of the aforesaid mule-driver with a certain Publius Ventidius, who is a solid and substantial historical personage of Ciceronian times. The suggestion first put forth by Victorius has been adopted without active dissent by most later scholars who have had occasion to touch upon the matter.¹ In identifying further the Cataleptic mule-driver with the putative Sabinus *candidatus* of this letter of Cicero, Bücheler furnished, as he thought, a datum for proving what had heretofore rested only on conjecture, that Cicero's letter to Trebonius (*Fam.* xv. 20) was written in April, 44. Theodor Mommsen came to the support of Bücheler in his identifications, though he would assign Cicero's letter to an earlier date. Mommsen's article (*Hermes*, XXVIII [1893], 604 ff.) was printed at about the same time as that of Sternkopf, and apparently neither of these two writers could have known the other's work in advance of his own publication. Why Sternkopf, in 1893, did not even mention the argument of Bücheler put forth ten years earlier, I am unable to say; but perhaps he had overlooked it because it was buried in the middle of some notes on the *Catalepton*.

We have, then, propounded for our acceptance a triple identification: Sabinus *candidatus* of Cicero's letter = the mule-driver of the *Catalepton* = Ventidius. Sabinus *candidatus* can be connected with

¹ Ribbeck (*Gesch. d. röm. Dichtung*, II², 15) says: "Dieser [sc. Ventidius] selbst oder ein Mann von ganz ähnlicher Laufbahn ist der ehemals Quinctio, nun Sabinus genannte Emporkömmling, etc." E. Baehrens, on the other hand (*PLM*, II, 33), thinks on the whole that the Vergilian parody is directed against, not Ventidius, but "in Sabinum, ut mihi uidetur, praeceptorem, qui ex mulione factus erat Cremonae ludi magister simulque decurionis munere fungebatur." Th. Birt (*Jugendverse und Heimatpoesie Vergils* [Teubner, 1910], pp. 114 ff.), to be sure, rejects the identification of the mule-driver with Ventidius, but treats the question so briefly and incompletely, and varies in so many points from my understanding, that perhaps there is good excuse for further discussion.

Ventidius only through the illustrious mule-driver. If, then, either of the two connecting links in the triplet fails, the career of Ventidius cannot be cited in proof of the dating assigned to the letter of Cicero in which Sabinus appears. The validity of the identification is, then, the point at issue.

We may now conveniently contemplate for a moment the mule-driver. The fourth poem of Catullus details the valorous adventures of the yacht which brought him home from Bithynia to Italy, and was in all probability written professedly as an inscription to accompany the votive offering at Sirmio of a model or picture of the vessel itself. The well-known parody substitutes for the *phasellus* a mule-driver, and lauds his swift and faithful journeyings through the swampy trails that lay in the region of Cremona, Brixia, and Mantua. He was thus continuously occupied during his active life in the center of the Transpadane country, and he is further said to have been a native of that region (*ultima ex origine | tua [sc. Gallia] stetisse dicit in uoragine*). This last is a point to be observed. He has now, however, apparently set up in some temple a votive offering of a statuette or picture of himself. The reason for the offering may well have been his preservation from some specific danger in the pursuit of his calling, or the offering may have been (and this is the more inherently satisfactory supposition) in general recognition of divine protection in the past, and made when the mule-driver was retiring from active service to enjoy his accumulated earnings, as the *phasellus* of Catullus had professedly finished its toils. The temple appears, however, to have been one of Castor and Pollux, protectors from perils at sea. Perhaps the greatest danger of his career had been actually on, or in, the water (floods were common enough in that region), and in the lack of a temple or shrine of a more proper fresh-water deity, the mule-driver chose for his offering the next best place.¹ Perhaps the specific temple was an invention

¹ It will be remembered that only twelve miles to the eastward of Cremona, between it and Mantua, there was a place called *ad Castoris* (Suet. *Otho* 9; *Castorum*, Tac. *Hist.* ii. 24; *Castores*, Oros. vii. 8), apparently so named from a temple of the twin deities. It is natural to guess that this was the particular shrine honored by the retiring *mulio* (so also Birt). (Surely the idea of L. Herr, advanced in *Revue de Philologie*, XVII [1893], 208 ff., that the place was named from a beaver-dam in the vicinity, must be rejected, supported as it was also by erring statements about Latin usage.)

or adaptation for the occasion of the parodist, because Castor and his twin-brother were the deities of the Catullian poem. But I should prefer to think that the mule-driver's offering to the *Castores* was the precise incident which prompted some town-wit (probably of Cremona) to exercise his skill in travesty. The poem of Catullus, composed in that same general region by the brilliant local poet, lay ready at hand, needing only a few changes to fit it for circulation and the laughter of dinner parties. Furthermore, another item of gaiety lay in the fact that the mule-driver's chosen artist had, perhaps in ignorant following of the pattern of some dignified aristocrat's statue, represented the mule-driver as sitting in an ivory (curule?) chair! The absurdity of the figure was admirably complete. Hence in place of the Catullian *nunc recondita | senet quiete, seque dedicat tibi, | gemelle Castor et gemelle Castoris*, we have solemnly for the mule-driver, *nunc eburnea | sedetque sede, seque dedicat tibi, | gemelle Castor et gemelle Castoris*. Thus there is mule-driver for yacht, perils for perils, retirement for retirement, picture (or statuette) for picture (or model), and temple for temple. If parodies are ever justified, this one surely was.

I have thus given a general interpretation of the parody with what seems to be the most direct and simple and consistent view of it. Of course one must concede the possibility that in this or that point where I have suggested parallelism, no such precisely significant accord between original and parody actually existed, and the language of the latter arbitrarily reproduced the language of the former. One may go farther yet, and believe that the mule-driver is a mere "phliz," a figment of the parodist's imagination, and that the whole parody is but a humorous exercise in composition. But any middle ground between a theory of interpretation consistent throughout and the belief in the artificial nature of the whole thing is uncertain, and may well be challenged as unreasonable. Certainly the arbitrary selection of a point or two, the shaping of these in a less natural sense, and then the building of an expansive superstructure of reasoning upon this frail foundation in defiant disregard of incompatible details just as clearly asserted in the original document—this process surely ought not to command ready assent. Yet that is precisely what has been done by the followers of Victorius.

Victorius, as I have already said, suggested that the Transpadane mule-driver might be Ventidius, a contemporary of Cicero. Ventidius had an eventful career, and is perhaps better known because his history formed part of the stock in trade of the ancient moralists. His rise from humble station to be tribune, praetor, pontifex, consul, provincial governor, victorious general, *triumphator*, and then in no long time thereafter the object of a *funus publicum*, is set forth in detail in the usual handbooks (e.g., Pauly, *Realenc.*) with full reference to authorities, and may there be studied. Only a few points of his biography need hold our attention in this connection.

Ventidius is said to have earned his living in early years by letting conveyances to Roman officials passing back and forth through Picenum. In other words, he was a postmaster. Hence Plancus (Cic. *Fam.* x. 18. 3), who was on the opposite side in the earlier days of 43 B.C., sneers at Ventidius as a mule-driver (*mulio*, the same word used in the Vergilian parody); furthermore, the elder Pliny (*N.H.* vii. 135) quotes Cicero as authority in a characterization of Ventidius as a *mulio*, and this referring to a time when Ventidius was in charge of the transportation of supplies for Caesar's army. There is a great difference between the proprietor of a livery-stable for Roman officials and a common mule-driver, and a greater difference between a mule-driver and a chief of transportation and friend of Caesar. Doubtless the derisive epithet *mulio* flung at Ventidius by Plancus, then confronting him in the field, and (if it be so) by Cicero, whom Ventidius had virulently opposed, is not to be understood literally (in the face of other and ample authority), but only as a common enough forensic pejorative (cf. also the popular catch referred to by Gell. xv. 4, which of course can have no historical value).

It is enough, however, that Ventidius could be called in derision a mule-driver. Now enters the ivory chair to help on the identification by the one really necessary point of connection. The "mule-driver" Ventidius has actually arrived (or nearly so) at the praetorship, and is, or will be, entitled to sit in an ivory curule chair: if now the ivory chair of the real mule-driver from Transpadana be truly a curule chair, and he be understood to be sitting there in *propria persona*, and not merely in effigy, what more

convincing identification could be desired? The Transpadane mule-driver has not retired from active life; he has only retired from mule-driving. His sphere is now politics and statecraft; he administers justice from the praetor's tribunal in Rome, in the Forum before the Temple of Castor. Hence the concluding words, *seque dedicat tibi, gemelle Castor* (*Catal.* 10. 25, 26)—so Bücheler suggests.

There is the forging of the link between the Transpadane mule-driver and Ventidius. Now we may turn to the link between the mule-driver and the Sabinus *candidatus* of Cicero's letter. In the fourth poem of Catullus a phrase runs, *ubi iste post phasellus antea fuit | comata silua*: in the parody this becomes, *ubi iste post Sabinus ante Quintio*, etc. That is, the mule-driver was formerly known as Quintio—patently a slave-name (cf. Bücheler, *loc. cit.*)—but now calls himself Sabinus, a name of evident respectability. Bücheler seized upon this common element of name, together with the allusion to candidates assuming *cognomina*, and argues, "*hoc patet non texturum fuisse Ciceronem ab eo nomine hoc exordium, nisi tum inter candidatos fuisset qui Sabinum se transnominasset.*" Therefore *Sabinus candidatus* = *Sabinus mulio* = *Ventidius praetor, quod erat demonstrandum*.

It would be very interesting indeed, if only this could be regarded as a demonstration. But unfortunately that is very far from being the case. Let us proceed to the examination of the individual items of correspondence, and first of all the case of the hypothetical Sabinus *candidatus*. Cicero speaks with humorous exaggeration, as if it were a common practice with candidates nowadays to don an additional name as they would a fresh toga. Of course such an actual state of things is manifestly impossible; otherwise we should hear more about it. Evidently some one man was charged with having thus equipped his bare *nomen* and *praenomen*. Bücheler holds it perfectly evident (*hoc patet*) that this particular man must have surnamed himself Sabinus. On the contrary, I submit that if the *candidatus* were a freshly dubbed Sabinus, Cicero's expression would naturally have been quite different. He would have made his little jest much more pointed, by intimating, not that the Sabinus of Trebonius was possibly another example of a group of cases, but that he may perhaps be a plagiarist upon the actual case of the

current *candidatus*. I cannot hold it conceivable that the *candidatus* could have called himself by this particular name without that felicitous point leaving an unmistakable trace in Cicero's form of expression. Bücheler was clearly under the spell of the Transpadane mule-driver, and determined to twist Cicero's words into the direction that would lead toward the enticing theory of identification. Furthermore, it should be carefully noted that in Cicero's letter there is no mention of a change of one *cognomen* for another, but only of the assumption of a *cognomen* by a man who previously had none. When Bücheler speaks of a change of name here (*qui Sabinum se transnominasset*) he is falsifying the evidence in order to make *Sabinus candidatus* fit *Sabinus mulio* of the *Catalepton*, who had changed his name instead of merely taking one on. To insist on interpreting the Cicero passage against its plain wording by using the *Catalepton* parody, and then to start backward through the *Catalepton* to the history of Ventidius, is much like an *argumentum in circulo*. The only link of connection between the *candidatus* and the mule-driver is the chance use of the name Sabinus in the neighborhood of the reference to the *candidatus*, to whom it could not possibly refer, and the kinship (about the degree of which Roman custom, if not law, would have something to say) between assuming a *cognomen* where none had previously existed, and changing one already in possession. But these two are not possibly the same thing. To assume a virtue if you have it not is a very different thing from changing your virtue for a vice.

Bücheler, then, is guilty of pursuing at all hazards a seductive will-o'-the-wisp. The *candidatus* of Cicero's letter can have no possible connection with the Transpadane mule-driver, and hence (even a fortiori, as I shall show) none with Ventidius. Therefore the case for the support of the dating of Cicero's letter by dates in the career of Ventidius falls to the ground, and so far as my interest is that of a critic of the chronology of the *Letters*, I might stop my note here, with the remark that Messrs. Tyrrell and Purser appear to have no valid objection at further command against the acceptance of Sternkopf's dating of *Fam.* xv. 20.

But the identification of the Transpadane mule-driver with Ventidius has been so commonly accepted, in spite of evident and

frequently recognized difficulties, that I am tempted to speak of that also. Let us proceed to compare particulars—and for the sake of brevity I refer in general for ancient authorities on Ventidius to the *apparatus* published in the biographies (Pauly, etc.).

Ventidius is called Ventidius Bassus by the only authors that give his *cognomen* (Gell., Eutrop.): the *mulio* called himself Sabinus. Ventidius is nowhere said to have changed his name: the *mulio* had changed his, and a particular point is made of it. The father of Ventidius was apparently a man of station, a leader of his countrymen in the Marsian War against Rome: the original name of the *mulio* is one of servile origin. Ventidius was born and brought up in Picenum: the *mulio* was born and brought up in Transpadana. Ventidius had been a postmaster, and later a chief of transportation, but never a *mulio* (though his enemies sometimes scoffingly called him so): the *mulio* had notoriously never been anything but a *mulio* (*tibi haec fuisse et esse cognitissima*). Ventidius as a child had been carried a prisoner to Rome, and later had been actively engaged with Caesar's army in Gaul and elsewhere: the *mulio* had never stepped foot out of the morasses of his native region. Ventidius was never out of active life from the moment when Caesar took him under his command till his death in the thirties: the *mulio*, unless we violently wrest the parody out of all correspondence with the Catullian original in order to make it agree in at least some one point with the career of Ventidius, had retired from mule-driving to a *dolce far niente*. Ventidius was elected praetor and consul, and so had a right to a curule chair, which was traditionally of ivory: the *mulio* celebrated his retirement by a votive offering of a representation of himself seated in an ivory chair—unless again we are to interpret the parody by Ventidius and not by Catullus.

But enough of these antitheses. Where is the sufficient resemblance to cancel and sweep them away? Nowhere except in the imagination of some moderns whose ears have been caught by the purely verbal tinkle of *mulio*, *mulio*, and who are willing to disregard all contradictions, and in addition to wreck all possible sense in a clever parody, in order to try to bolster up an entirely gratuitous hypothesis. Not merely one link in the triplet of identification, but both links, fail utterly.

For good measure a few further comments may be added. A curule chair was traditionally of ivory, but not every ivory chair was curule, though any ivory chair would have been a possession of wealth and luxury, probably beyond the means of a retired mule-driver. Whether the portrayed *rentier* was actually ensconced in a curule chair, or that detail was a malicious invention or exaggeration of the parodist, I am unable to decide. I certainly do not believe, as Baehrens and Birt do, that the *mulio* had passed upward from mule-driving to be decurion of Cremona or of any other place. The parallelism with the career of the *phasellus* forbids any such brilliant elevation after the *mulio's* retirement from his lifelong occupation amid the marshes of Transpadana.

Bücheler interpreted the concluding words of the parody (*seque dedicat tibi | gemelle Castor et gemelle Castoris*) to mean that the mule-driver-praetor now sat in judgment before the Temple of Castor and Pollux in Rome (*agit publice pro aede Castoris*). To say nothing of a considerable difference between sitting in court before Castor's temple and dedicating oneself to a deity who had no connection with law, the site of the praetor's tribunal in the Roman Forum is well known from excavations as well as from a few references in ancient authors. It was far from Castor's temple, being near the place where the column of Phocas now stands (cf., e.g., Kiepert-Hülsem, *Formae*). Unfortunately, therefore, the interpretation of the parody is left seriously mangled, so far as Bücheler's efforts are concerned. This is, indeed, particularly grievous, because the reference to Castor and his twin is the only point of connection that Bücheler can cite between the career of the *phasellus* of Catullus and the career of Ventidius. All the other items of possible comparison (they are, in fact, only two—the *mulio* and the ivory chair) reach no further back from Ventidius than to the parody. Now a parody may be amusing in itself, on account of the grotesqueness of its transformation of the original—as a sort of exercise in “grinning through a horsecollar.” But a parody that is supposedly framed as a satire on a certain person may naturally be expected to be based upon some point of resemblance between the original of the parody and the circumstances of the victim of its satire, some common item or characteristic that would naturally suggest to the parodist the selec-

tion of the particular piece of writing as his *corpus uile*. Bücheler rightly feels this necessity of retaining a link of connection that stretches beyond the parody itself. If this be lost, all is lost—so far, at any rate, as Bücheler's identification is concerned; and I have just pointed out that this certainly is lost. Ribbeck (*Gesch. d. röm. Dichtung*, II², 15) felt the same necessity for finding a direct connecting link between the history of Ventidius and the text of the *phasellus*-poem, and the same limitation to the Castor-reference as the only material. He explains as follows: "Jetzt hat er sich zur Ruhe gesetzt wie jenes Boot: er sitzt auf elfenbeinerem Amtssessel im Castortempel, wo der Senat tagt." A praetor's post is not precisely retirement, and the Senate does not traditionally, even if occasionally, meet in Castor's temple. But Ribbeck's explanation is at any rate better than the historically impossible one of Bücheler—if only the rest of the evidence did not make the identification of Ventidius with Quintio-Sabinus impossible. O. E. Schmidt ("P. Ventidius Bassus," in *Philol.*, LI [1892], 210) felt the same necessity and the same limitation as Bücheler and Ribbeck: he explained by supposing that Ventidius as consul (possible identification of Ventidius with Sabinus *candidatus* of Cicero's letter would thus be lost) dedicated in Castor's temple at Rome a statue of himself represented as sitting in a curule chair. Neither Ribbeck nor Schmidt mentions any difficulties in the way of the identification. Birt (*loc. cit.*, p. 123) apparently thinks that Bücheler imagined Ventidius sitting as consul (not as praetor) before Castor's temple in Rome, and even contributes a citation to help out the theory he rightly rejects. But the passage he quotes concerning Antony (*audiente populo sedens pro aede Castoris*, Cic. *Phil.* iii. 27) refers clearly to the well-known use of the lofty *podium* of the temple as *rostra* for public addresses.

Again Bücheler opines that the difficulty about the name of this Ventidius Sabinus-Bassus is explicable by supposing that having adopted the *cognomen* Sabinus before his praetorship, he later changed it for Bassus. Could any reasoning be more desperate than this, in the futile attempt to buttress a theory against facts by one baseless supposition on which is now piled another yet more unreasonable? Why should we imagine that a Roman of Ciceronian days thus juggled with *cognomina*?

Finally Bücheler passes over the grave difficulty of contradiction in the reports of origin (Picenum vs. Transpadana) with the remark: "leuioris id momenti est in homine ignobili neque alterum utrum necesse est iudicari falsum"! But Ventidius came to be a famous man, and it is quite improbable that his origin was unknown or uncertain. There is no disagreement about it in the ancient authorities for his life. Gellius is the only writer who says he was of humble origin (xv. 4. 3, *eum Picentem fuisse genere et loco humili*), and Gellius appears from his later comments to have drawn this statement as a natural deduction from the humble occupation of the earlier years of Ventidius. Dio (xliii. 51) plainly confuses him with the Picentine general, P. Ventidius, who was in all probability his father. This relationship would readily explain why the younger Ventidius, then a child in arms, was carried to Rome with his mother and displayed in the triumphal procession of Pompeius Strabo, their conqueror. It would also make it more improbable that his origin from Picenum should ever have been unknown. Of course the death of his father, who evidently did not survive to be paraded as a prisoner in the triumph (cf. also Oros. v. 18), and the ruin of his fortunes, would account for his humble upbringing and early occupation. Mommsen's note (*Hermes*, loc. cit.) adds nothing to the credibility of the identifications.

Sabinus *candidatus* may therefore fall back into the limbo of vanities from which he was conjured up; the Vergilian *Catal.* 10 may stand by itself as an amusing local parody-skit of Transpadana on an amusing local celebrity; and the *triumphator* Ventidius may rest on his laurels and his name in peace.

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THE CREATION STORY IN OVID *MET.* i

BY FRANK EGGLESTON ROBBINS

The account of the origin of the universe offered by Ovid in *Met.* i. 5-88 bears so many resemblances, in one passage or another, to various ancient cosmic theories that commentators have failed to agree in determining the authority on whom Ovid depended. Among those that have been put forward are the Egyptians,¹ Empedocles,² Anaxagoras,³ and Varro.⁴ None of the advocates of these suggestions have found it possible to show that Ovid adhered consistently in every detail to the systems which they select as his models; nor do I, in making a further attempt at the solution of the problem, expect to display the poet as a strict sectarian in his cosmogony. The fact must be recognized at the beginning that a thorough and consistent adherence to one theory is not to be found in the Ovidian account of the universe, and, furthermore, is not to be expected. Ovid did not possess the philosophic temperament of Vergil, and in the *Metamorphoses* he is not so much concerned with setting forth true explanations as with telling stories in an interesting and graceful way. No one, in other words, would regard the *Metamorphoses* as a didactic and not a narrative poem.

On the other hand, it is equally certain that Ovid employed material which he drew from previous writers, and scholars have made exhaustive studies of his borrowings.⁵ In the present discussion, however, the question will be rather that of the sources of his views of the world than of his adoption of the phraseology of other writers.

Before entering upon a more minute discussion of these ideas, another *a priori* assumption should be noted, namely, that in all

¹ Gierig's edition, revised by Lemaire, Paris, 1821.

² Carlo Pascal, *L'imitazione di Empedocle nelle Metamorfosi di Ovidio* reprinted in *Graccia Capla*, Firenze, 1905.

³ Most recently by F. Polle, "Ovidius und Anaxagoras," *N. J. f. Ph. u. Paed.* 145, 53 ff.; previously by Koeppen and Lenz (cf. Gierig-Lemaire on i. 5 and 21); cf. also Siebelis-Polle ed. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1880), on *Met.* i. 21.

⁴ Lafaye, *Les Metamorphoses d'Ovide*, especially pp. 220-21.

⁵ E.g., A. Zingerle, *Ovidius und sein Verhältnis zu den Vorgängern und gleichzeitigen röm. Dichtern*, Innsbruck, 1869 and 1870.

probability Ovid, in view of his generally non-philosophical character, would not be so likely to delve into the half-forgotten theories of the pre-Socratics and present anew a consistent account based on one of them as to set forth opinions that were commonly held in his own time and were familiar to his readers. This introduces another difficulty, which is really the fundamental one of the whole problem. In Ovid's time the popular philosophic-scientific theories were the product of eclecticism, containing elements which were ultimately derived from many sources, a situation which is certain to cause confusion and inconsistency in the non-technical poets of Ovid's type, and which is likely to lead astray commentators who seek to locate the sources of their ideas. Certain fundamental notions came at this time to be used in common, and it is therefore useless to declare that a writer follows any individual philosophical school because he uses one of these commonplaces, unless it is also possible to point out in his work ideas characteristic of the sect with which it is sought to identify him.

Turning now to the discussion of Ovid's creation narrative and taking up in order the various theories that have been proposed with regard to its source, we may first dismiss as improbable that which makes the poet derive his lore from the Egyptians. It has never been seriously considered and is supported only by one citation of the proemium of Diogenes Laertius. A second theory, which asserts that Ovid drew upon Anaxagoras, has quite recently been advocated by F. Polle (*supra*, p. 401, n. 3). It is readily seen, as Polle admits, that there are such fundamental differences between Ovid's ideas and the doctrines of Anaxagoras that it cannot be claimed that Ovid followed Anaxagoras at all consistently. The elements of the universe in Ovid are the common four, but according to Anaxagoras they were the corpuscles of all sorts of denominate substances, just the opposite of the Empedoclean elements, as Aristotle declared (*De gen. et corr.* i. 1. 314a 24). Furthermore, Socrates, whose disappointment with the way in which Anaxagoras employed the *Nous* in his cosmogony is related in *Phaedo* 97B ff., could hardly have made the same objections to the *deus* of the Ovidian passage, whose activity in the ordering of the cosmos is emphasized throughout. If Anaxagoras made mere mechanical processes too prominent, just

the opposite is true of Ovid. In view of these fundamental discrepancies and of the fact that it is impossible to show that Ovid set forth any of the distinctive doctrines of Anaxagoras, this proposal also may be rejected.

A third suggestion is Empedocles, whom Carlo Pascal has recently put forth as a Greek source for Ovid (*supra*, p. 401, n. 2). It must be granted that in some respects Ovid's account resembles that of Empedocles—in the introduction of four elements, and the chaos. But the *deus* of Ovid fails to correspond with Φιλότης in Empedocles, and there is no mention of a power opposite to Φιλότης, one of the essentials of the Empedoclean system.¹ And if we compare the words of the two poets in the passages cited by Pascal, we shall find in the cases where there are real parallels what he should have himself observed, that Ovid is affected by Empedocles only through the medium of Lucretius. For example, Pascal compares the following: *Met.* i. 10 ff.:

nullus adhuc mundo praebebat lumina Titan,
nec noua crescendo reparabat cornua Phoebe,
nec circumfuso pendebat in aëre tellus
ponderibus librata suis, nec brachia longo
margine terrarum porrexerat Amphitrite.

Emped. v. 172 ff., Mullach:

ἐνθ' οὐτ' ἡελίοιο δευδίσκεται ἀγλαὸν εἶδος
οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ' αἴης λάσιον δέμας οὐδὲ θάλασσα.

But cf. Lucr. v. 432–34:

hic neque tum solis rota cerni lumine largo
altiuolans poterat nec magni sidera mundi
nec mare nec caelum nec denique terra neque aër.

Of the two possible sources the probabilities surely favor Lucretius. Pascal states that the use of *Titan* (= *sol*) is derived from Empedocles (v. 236 M., fr. 8 Diels); but reference to the text shows that it is a common Ovidian usage and occurs also in contemporary poetry.² With lines 24–25 Pascal compares Emped. v. 163 ff. M., where it is said that after Νεῶκος came to the bottom of the vortex and Φιλότης

¹ Cf. the review in *W. kl. Ph.*, 1903, p. 769.

² Ovid *Met.* ii. 118; vi. 438; *Fasti* i. 617; ii. 73; iv. 180, 919; *Paneg. Mess.* 157; Verg. *Aen.* iv. 119.

to the center, things came together to be one. The likeness, verbally considered, is not convincing, and as before it may be objected that Ovid does not mention Νέικος at all, while his *deus* is not very like Φιλότης. Instead of comparing Ovid i. 26-27:

igneae conuexi uis et sine pondere caeli
emicuit summaque locum sibi fecit in arce,

with Emped. v. 261 M.:

[ἐκθορε μὲν πρῶτον πῦρ] καρπαλίμως ἀνόπαιον

it is much better to cite Lucr. v. 459 f.:

. . . . erumpens primus se sustulit aether
ignifer et multos secum leuis abstulit ignis.

The few other parallels which Pascal suggests have even less to recommend them. If we are to admit that there was any Empedoclean influence on Ovid, it is far safer to suppose that it came through Lucretius.

This leads naturally to the consideration of the relation between the Lucretian and the Ovidian accounts. Now, however true it be that Ovid shows traces of Lucretian influence, certain important differences prove that he was setting forth no Epicurean or Lucretian theory of creation. The greatest point of divergence is that Ovid ascribes creation to some god, "*deus et melior . . . natura*," 21; "*quisquis fuit ille deorum*," 32; "*mundi fabricator*," 57; "*opifex rerum, mundi melioris origo*," 79; but Lucretius bluntly says (v. 419-20):

nam certe neque consilio primordia rerum
ordine se suo quaeque sagaci mente locarunt.

Secondly, the *semina* in the two accounts¹ (for both use the term) differ. Ovid's *semina* are the four elements² endowed with qualities—cold, hot, dry, wet—that to Lucretius are secondary.³ They are not at all the Epicurean atoms. Thirdly, Ovid says the earth is a globe (33-34). Lucretius does not make any direct statement, but he

¹ Ovid i. 9; Lucr. v. 456.

² It is evident that "*caelo terras undas aëre*," 22-23, refer to the four elements, and line 9 would without doubt refer to the mixture of these elements. There are also rougher tripartite divisions: "*mare terras caelum*," 5, and "*tellus pontus aër*," 15; cf. for the former Lucr. v. 92, 594.

³ Lucr. ii. 730 ff.

probably thought it flat,¹ and in any case his theory of its support by another body beneath it is unknown to Ovid.² Fourthly, the stars according to Ovid are placed in the ether (69-71) but according to Lucretius in the air below the ether (v. 472). Fifthly, there is no suggestion of a divine origin for man in Lucretius as in Ovid. Besides these there are minor differences in the order in which the events of the evolutionary process are related.

Notwithstanding these important differences, certain phrases of *Met.* i are so like expressions found in *De nat. rer.* v that Ovid's use of Lucretian material is a natural assumption.³ But this need not be more than verbal reminiscence, for, as was pointed out above, a community of commonplace ideas between two poets of this period of eclecticism argues no necessary dependence of one upon the other.

Both Lucretius and Ovid begin by describing a chaotic state of matter. In Lucretius it is the fact that there is no *consilium* to guide them which bring the atoms into this chaos (v. 416-31, especially 429-31). Now, though the conception of a chaotic state is similar in the two, it has already been seen that the component parts, the *semina*, are very unlike, and furthermore the notion of a chaos is so common a thing in ancient writers that Ovid might have taken it from almost any source besides Lucretius, or simply have versified one of the ideas that was in the air in his time.⁴ The passages (Ovid 10-14; Lucr. 432-34) in which the poets describe the chaotic state

¹ Cf. Munro on Lucr. v. 534 and 764.

² Lucr. v. 534 ff.

³ Zingerle's work (cited above) conclusively shows that Ovid knew and used Lucretius.

⁴ The term "chaos," used by Ovid, is not found in Lucretius; it is not, in fact, a part of the strictly philosophical vocabulary. It occurs in Hesiod *Theog.* 46 and thereafter frequently in Greek poetry. The notion of a chaotic condition at first is extremely common; Euripides (*Melanippe*) fr. 488; Aristoph. *Aves* 693; Apoll. Rhod. i. 496 ff.: *ἤπειρα δ' ὡς γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς ἥδ' ἐθλάσσα | τὸ πρὶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι μῆ συναρρηρότα μορφῇ, | νεῖκος δ' ἐξ ὀλοοῖο διέκριθεν ἀμφὶς ἑκάστα.* . . . It was certainly a part of the Epicurean system, as Lucretius shows. Verg. *Ecl.* vi. 31 describes a sort of Epicurean chaos. In the Orphic writers, also, descriptions of a chaos something like Ovid's occur; e.g., (Clem. Rom.) *Recog.* x. 30, Abel, p. 162; and Apoll. Rhod. as cited. Diod. Sic. i. 7 has a description of a chaos. In poetry, cf. (Tib.) iv. 1. 18, where a chaos would naturally precede the ordering process described, though the poet does not expressly say so; also Ovid *Ars am.* ii. 467 ff.; *Fasti* i. 105 ff., which are quite similar to *Met.* i.

are very similar and may be real parallels (*supra*, p. 403), though they need be considered no more than verbal ones. But when in vs. 15-20 Ovid explains that this condition was due to the conflict of the elements, and Lucretius (435-42) that it was due to atomic motions, they are far from agreement; and the same is true when Ovid ends this conflict by the intervention of the *deus*, Lucretius by the attraction of likes. There are a few other passages the wording of which is similar,¹ but this need be no more than the casual likeness that is to be looked for in poets treating similar subjects with a similar background of well-known ideas—it being admitted of course that Ovid knew the *De natura rerum* and might have adapted some of its phrases to his own use. No more is to be inferred from the passages describing how the parts of the universe came to occupy their present positions:² these are commonplaces. In view of the fact that Ovid and Lucretius are, as has been shown, absolutely opposed to one another in their general conception of the world, its evolution, and God, and in the lack of clearer evidence of conscious imitation (only one parallel cited is really of more than secondary importance—Ovid i. 10-14; Lucr. v. 432-34), it must be concluded that the resemblances between them are either merely adventitious or purely literary.

None of the suggestions thus far considered has proved fruitful, yet it is quite certain from their character that Ovid's ideas were derived perhaps from one, perhaps from more than one, philosophic source. In order to throw light upon these sources we may profitably examine certain passages of Cicero which represent views of the uni-

¹ Ovid 22-23: nam caelo terras et terris abscidit undas
 et liquidum spisso secrevit ab aëre caelum.

Lucr. 446-48: hoc est, a terris altum discernere caelum,
 et sorsum mare uti secreto umore pateret,
 seorsus item puri secretique aetheris ignes.

Other speciously similar passages: concerning the sea and winds, Ov. 36-37; Lucr. 503-4; the making of hills and plains, Ov. 43-44; Lucr. 492-93; cf. also Ovid 68 (of the ether): "nec quicquam terrenae faecis habentem," with Lucr. 497 (of the earth): "subsedit funditus ut faex." Editors of Ovid here compare Homer P 425: ἀπὸ γῆρος αἰθέρα.

² Fire rose (Ov. 26-27; Lucr. 458-59) and took the highest place (Ov. 27; Lucr. 470, 500-501); air is next lower (Ov. 28; Lucr. 501; cf. 472, 490); earth is heavy (Ov. 29-30; Lucr. 429) and in the middle (Ov. 31; Lucr. 451); water surrounds the earth (Ov. 31; Lucr. 498).

verse commonly held in Ovid's own time. They are not so much concerned with the world's origin as with the arrangement of its parts, but still they will be of service. One of these is *Tusc. disp.* i. 17. 40: "persuadent enim mathematici terram in medio mundo sitam ad uniuersi caeli complexum quasi puncti instar obtinere, quod κέντρον illi uocant; eam porro naturam esse quattuor omnia gignentium corporum, ut, quasi partita habeant inter se ac diuisa momenta, terrena et humida suoapte nutu et suo pondere ad paris angulos in terram et in mare ferantur, reliquae duae partes, una ignea, altera animalis, ut illae superiores in medium locum mundi grauitate ferantur et pondere, sic hae rursum rectis lineis in caelestem locum subuolent, siue ipsa natura superiora adpetente, siue quod a grauioribus leuiora natura repellantur." The second is very similar, *De nat. deor.* ii. 91: "principio enim terra sita in media parte mundi circumfusa undique est hac animali spirabilique natura cui nomen est aër . . . hunc rursus amplectitur immensus aether, qui constat ex altissimis ignibus," etc.

The similarity of these passages to Ovid's description of the arrangement of the world is obvious (cf. especially vs. 26-31).

Now it is very probable that both these passages were borrowed by Cicero from Stoic sources. In the second case this is sure;¹ the second book of the *De natura deorum* is a Stoic exposition throughout; and the first is quite certainly Stoic as well,² both from the fact that it is in juxtaposition with other Stoic passages and from its likeness to the *De nat. deor.* ii. 91. In addition we may note that it is known from other sources that the Stoics made such statements about the universe.³

Besides these general agreements, there are several other Ciceronian passages which, each introduced in a Stoic context, parallel the most famous lines of *Met.* i, namely, 84-86:

pronaque cum spectent animalia cetera terram
os homini sublime dedit! caelumque uidere
iussit et erectos ad sidera tollere uultus.

¹ See Mayor on the sources of *De nat. deor.* ii in his edition, II, xvi ff.

² See Dougan, *Tusc. disp.*, Introd. xxi, for a summary of the views of scholars, and p. xxiii for *Tusc. disp.* i. 17. 40.

³ E.g., Diog. Laer. vii. 137, 155.

In the same Stoic book of the *De natura deorum* Cicero writes (56. 140): "qui [i.e. di] primum eos [i.e. homines] excitatos celso et erectos constituerunt, ut deorum cognitionem caelum intuentes capere possent." This evidently was adduced as a proof of design in the world in the Stoic teleological argument which he copies. Again we find the same thought in *De legg.* i. 9. 26-27: "nam cum ceteros animantis abiecisset ad pastum, solum hominem erexit et ad caeli quasi cognationis domiciliique pristini conspectum excitavit, tum speciem ita formavit oris ut in ea penitus reconditos mores effingeret."¹ The topic of man's erect stature was a common one among ancient writers² and upon this alone one could not base an argument concerning Ovid's sources. Yet, after Plato and Aristotle, it seems to have been fairly distinctive of the Stoic school, and I wish in short to argue that so many of Ovid's utterances are paralleled by the common topics of the Stoic writers, without any serious discrepancies which do not find a natural explanation, that, in view of the ease with which it could have come about, it is probable that the reading of Stoic treatises or of books influenced by Stoicism was the strongest influence exerted upon the poet in *Met.* i. 5-88.

In the first place, to examine the agreements between Ovid and the Stoics, we have the matter of the elements. In i. 19 ("frigida pugnabant calidis, humentia siccis") there is evidently a reference to the Stoic classification of the air as cold, fire hot, water wet, and earth dry,³ the assignment of one quality only to each being a distinctively Stoic feature, for Aristotle had asserted that each element has two distinguishing qualities. Again in the next line, "mollia cum duris, sine pondere, habentia pondus," there may be a glance at the Stoic distinction between air and fire as light and earth and water as heavy.⁴

In the second place, there is much that can be urged to show that the Ovidian *deus* is modeled after the Stoic theology. In view of the

¹ Also *Tusc. disp.* i. 69: "hominemque ipsum quasi contemplatorem caeli ac deorum cultorem"; cf. *Met.* i. 85-86.

² See Mayor's note upon *De nat. deor.* ii. 56. 140 and S. O. Dickerman, *De argumentis quibusdam e structura hominis et animalium petitis*, Halle, 1909, 12 and 92, for examples.

³ Cf. *Diog. Laer.* vii. 137.

⁴ (*Plut.*) *Epit. plac.* i. 12 (*Doz.* 311 a 1); *Cic. Tusc. disp.* i. 17. 40 *supra*; cf. *Ovid* i. 67, "grauitate carentem aethera."

plainly philosophical character of the whole passage, popular though it be in treatment, it may be safely assumed that the *deus* mentioned was not taken directly from mythology and the creation treated simply as another metamorphosis;¹ in that case the influence of the theogonies ought to be plainly discernible. The *deus* is certainly derived rather from philosophical sources. It has been shown above that the Ovidian *deus* is neither of the Epicurean, Empedoclean, nor Anaxagorean types. By this method of elimination the possibilities are reduced practically to two out of all ancient philosophy, Plato and the Stoics. Now the cosmogony of Ovid differs too much from that of the *Timaeus* to allow us to believe that the latter was its direct source; on the other hand, seeming Platonic reminiscences in Ovid may easily be regarded as coming at second hand to him, in view of the adoption of so many of the topics of the *Timaeus* by subsequent schools, including the Stoics.

The Stoics believed in a supreme deity, who established this world in wisdom and providence.² These attributes well suit the *deus* of Ovid, who puts a stop to the warring of the elements: "hanc deus et melior litem natura diremit" (21). In other passages the god is represented as acting for the good of the world, in a providential manner: cf. 32 ff., 47 f., "sic onus inclusum numero distinxit eodem cura dei": 79, "mundi melioris origo." It has already been pointed out³ that the epithet *melior natura* (21) may be a reference to the Stoic identification of God and Nature, or Nature permeated by God. It might further be claimed that Ovid's hesitation to name the god concerned in the creation ("quisquis fuit ille deorum," 32) may be due to a certain unclarity on the part of the Stoics who were his sources, who, as the interlocutor in Cicero remarks, identify God now with the world, now with the world-soul, and again with natural law or the ether,⁴ and as Diogenes Laertius⁵ tells us named the

¹ In this connection note that lightning in this passage (56: "et cum fulminibus facientes frigora uentos") is regarded as a purely meteorological phenomenon rather than as Jove's weapon, as below in i. 197, 253, 259, etc.

² Diog. Laert. vii. 138: τὸν δὲ κόσμον οὐκείσθαι κατὰ νοῦν καὶ πρόνοιαν; cf. *ibid.* 147: θεὸν . . . προνοητικὸν κόσμον τε καὶ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ . . . εἶναι δὲ τὸν μὲν δημιουργὸν τῶν ὄλων, καὶ ὥσπερ πατέρα πάντων . . .

³ Lafaye, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

⁴ *De nat. deor.* i. 36, 37; cf. Diog. Laert. vii. 148; *Plac.* i. 7. 33.

⁵ vii. 147.

supreme deity Zeus, Hera, Athena, Poseidon, Hephaestus, or Demeter according to the particular attribute emphasized. In strict logic, of course, the expression suggests one of a number of gods, rather than one god under various names; but a poet does not have to adhere to strict logic.

It has already been seen (*supra*, p. 407) that Ovid's description of the arrangement of the parts of the world is in accord with that of the Stoics. The passage concerning chaos (5-20) is not so easy to parallel, perhaps because the Stoic cosmogony is not fully known to us; but in one respect at least, the employment of elements and not atoms, the two are in full accord. It may be that Ovid introduced the chaos simply as the general belief of his day and as a common poetic motif,¹ and with this interwove the Stoic ideas of the elements and a Deity; it is possible on the other hand that his notion of a chaos could have been derived from his reading of the Stoics. One account of the Stoic cosmogony at least suggests a chaotic state; Diog. Laer. vii. 136: κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν καθ' αὐτὸν ὄντα [sc. Δία] τρέπειν τὴν πᾶσαν οὐσίαν δι' ἕρος εἰς ὕδωρ· καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ γονῇ τὸ σπέρμα περιέχεται, οὕτω καὶ τοῦτον σπερματικὸν λόγον ὄντα τοῦ κόσμου τοιούτῳ ἐπολιπέσθαι ἐν τῷ ὑγρῷ, εὐεργὸν αὐτῷ ποιῶντα τὴν ὕλην πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐξῆς γένεσιν· εἶτα ἀπογεννᾶν πρῶτον τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα, πῦρ, ὕδωρ, ἀέρα, γῆν. The making of the four elements is again described by Diogenes in vii. 142, and it is there stated that by *μίξεις* plants and animals were made from them. It is natural to assume that in this process the four elements were thought of as existing together at first, not separated off from one another, just as in *Met.* i. 5-20. The Ciceronian passages quoted above also imply that this state of mixture formed part of the Stoic theory. Ovid, then, would simply omit, as poor poetic material and unsanctioned by poetic convention, the details regarding changes in matter previous to the production of the elements, and the doctrine of the *σπερματικὸς λόγος*, as we find them in Diogenes Laertius.²

It is to be noted further that in both the Ovidian and the Stoic

¹ See above, p. 405, n. 4. The notion of a conflict or battle between the elements (*Met.* i. 18 ff.) can hardly be paralleled from Stoic sources, but may well be explained, as a poetic, rather than philosophic, motif, sanctioned by such passages as Lucr. v. 439: "proelia miscens"; Apoll. Rhod. i. 498: *νέκτος δ' ἐξ ὁλοοῖο*, etc.

² But for the *σπερματικὸς λόγος* doctrine in Ovid see *infra*, p. 413.

accounts the development of the world from chaos is due to divine agency, therein differing radically from the pre-Socratic cosmogonies with their doctrine of a cosmic whorl, *δίνη*, which sorts things out and generates the universe. *Deus et melior natura*—God, not necessarily an anthropomorphic god, but perhaps rather divine power in nature working for a good end—is the agent of creation in Ovid, just as the Stoic Zeus, remaining in matter and sometimes identified with Nature, is the cause of cosmic evolution.

Lesser parallels with the Stoic writings in considerable number may be pointed out in the Ovidian creation narrative. With verse 45 begins a passage describing the zones of both the sky and the earth:

- 45: utque duae dextra caelum totidemque sinistra
 parte secant zonae, quinta est ardentior illis;
 sic onus inclusum numero distinxit eodem
 cura dei, totidemque plagae tellure premuntur.
 quarum quae media est, non est habitabilis aestu;
 50: nix tegit alta duas; totidem inter utramque locavit,
 temperiemque dedit mixta cum frigore flamma.

This topic is one which was treated both by poets and by scientific men. We are informed that Parmenides first defined the inhabited portions of the earth with reference to the zones of the tropics,¹ also that Pythagoras divided the earth into the five commonly named zones.² We are upon much firmer ground when we find it stated that the Stoics spoke of the five circles in the heavens and the five zones of the earth. The straightforward account of the Stoic teaching upon this point is very like the Ovidian passage cited: Diog. Laer. vii. 155: κύκλους δὲ εἶναι ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ πέντε . . . 156 ζῶναί τε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἰσι πέντε· πρώτη βόρειος, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀρκτικὸν κύκλον, ἀοίκητος διὰ ψύχος· δευτέρα, εὐκρατος· τρίτη ἀοίκητος ὑπὸ καυμάτων, ἡ διακεκαυμένη καλουμένη· τετάρτη ἡ ἀντεύκρατος· πέμπτη νότιος, ἀοίκητος διὰ ψύχος. There are two parallels to Ovid's lines in contemporary poetry—Vergil *Georg.* i. 233 ff. and *Paneg. Mess.* 152 ff.³

¹ *Plac.* iii. 11. 4.

² *Ibid.* iii. 14. 1.

³ The Vergilian passage in content is most similar to Ovid but could hardly have been Ovid's direct model; they appear rather to have the same source. Both the passages have more poetic embellishment than that in the *Metamorphoses*; cf. also Cic. *Tusc. disp.* i. 28. 68–69.

In two other respects Ovid agrees with the Stoics, and disagrees, it may be noted, with the Epicureans, in holding that the stars are in the *caelum*, that is, in the ether (70-71), and that the earth is spherical (34-35).¹

Finally we must consider the passage which narrates the creation of man, ending with the lines on his erect stature already discussed above:

- 72: neu regio foret ulla suis animantibus orba,
 astra tenent caeleste solum formaeque deorum,
 cesserunt nitidis habitandae piscibus undae,
 75: terra feras cepit, uolucres agitabilis aër.
 sanctius his animal mentisque capacius altae
 deerat adhuc, et quod dominari in cetera posset.
 natus homo est: siue hunc diuino semine fecit
 ille opifex rerum, mundi melioris origo,
 80: siue recens tellus seductaque nuper ab alto
 aethere cognati retinebat semina caeli,
 quam satus Iapeto mixtam fluuijalibus undis
 finxit in effigiem moderantum cuncta deorum.

The first few lines, 72-75, present the notion, fairly common in antiquity, that each element has its own inhabitant. Plato seems first to have used the topic, but it is important to note that Cicero in the Stoic second book of the *De natura deorum* (42) mentions it as an opinion of Aristotle.² This, then, along with so many other ideas of Plato and Aristotle, was apparently appropriated by the Stoics, and Ovid might more probably have taken it at third hand from a Stoic source than directly from Plato or Aristotle.

More closely related to Stoicism is the use of *animantibus*, 72, which shows that the stars, mentioned in 73, are regarded by Ovid as animated—a good Stoic doctrine.³ In 73 the stars also are called *formae deorum*, which accords with the Stoic belief that the stars are gods.⁴

¹ For Stoic views on the first point, see Cic. *De nat. deor.* ii. 42, 92, 117-18; for the second, *Plac.* iii. 10. 1; Diog. Laer. vii. 145.

² Plato *Tim.* 39E; on the use of this topic see Robbins, *The Hexaemeral Literature*, Chicago, 1912, 9, n. 5. The reference to Aristotle is probably to the lost *De philosophia*; see Mayor on *De nat. deor.* ii. 42, who collects references.

³ Cic. *De nat. deor.* ii. 41-42.

⁴ Cic. *De nat. deor. loc. cit.*; Chrysippus ap. Plut. *Stoic. Rep.* 38. 5; *Plac.* i. 7. 33. The Stoics, however (and apparently also Ovid), would not identify the stars and the highest god, whose seat is in the ether with the stars; Diog. Laer. vii. 138-39.

There are two suggestions as to the making of man, that he was made *diuino semine* by the mysterious creator, or that in the clay fashioned by Prometheus lingered some of the fire of heaven, *semina caeli*. The first seems to have been suggested by the very characteristic Stoic doctrine of the *σπερματικός λόγος*, generating principles contained in the *πῦρ τεχνικόν*, or highest god, "in accordance with which individual things come into existence by Destiny."¹ The second suggestion, though not so philosophic in character and apparently a concession to mythology, is not without its bearing on Stoicism. According to the Stoics the mind of man is of the same pure fire as the heavens, unlike the burning fire commonly seen.² The statement in 83, that man was made in the image of the gods, is hardly Stoic in origin,³ at least, we cannot parallel it from the Stoic sources in our present state of knowledge. But it occurs in a mythological context and really belongs with the stories of the same character later on in the book, where the gods do have human shapes.⁴

The present discussion has at least served to show that it is needless to search for Ovid's sources outside of the beliefs that were currently held in his day. Those who attempt to establish a connection between Ovid and any of the pre-Socratics are forced to rely upon the presence in both of perfectly commonplace ideas and sooner or later meet with grave unlikenesses. Lafaye's arguments in favor of Varro as a source are indefinite and unsupported by evidence. On the other hand, comparing Ovid and Stoic doctrine, we have been able

¹ Plac. i. 7. 33: *πῦρ τεχνικόν ὁδῶ βαδίζον ἐπὶ γένεσιν κόσμον, ἐμπεριειληφὸς πάντας τοὺς σπερματικὸς λόγους, καθ' οὗς ἕκαστα καθ' εἰμαρμένην γίνεταί*; cf. also Ritter and Preller, *Hist. Phil. Gr.*, 500 and 500a; Diog. Laer. vii. 136; Heinze, *Die Lehre vom Logos*, p. 114.

² Cic. *De nat. deor.* ii. 41: "contra ille corporeus [sc. ignis] uitalis et salutaris omnia conseruat alit augeat sustinet sensuque adficit . . . quare cum solis ignis similis eorum ignium sit, qui sunt in corporibus animantium, solem quoque animantem esse oportet et quidem reliqua astra, quae oriantur in ardore caelesti, qui aether uel caelum nominatur"; *Tusc. disp.* i. 19: "Zenoni Stoico animus ignis uidetur"; Diog. Laer. vii. 157: *Ζήνων δὲ . . . πνεῦμα ἑνθερμον εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν*; cf. *ibid.* 156, 143 (the human soul part of the world-soul, which is *πῦρ τεχνικόν*). For the two kinds of fire see Ritter and Preller, *op. cit.*, 495; also Varro *De l. l.* 5. 59; "itaque Epicharmus cum dicit de mente humana ait: istic est de sole sumptus ignis. idem de sole: isque totus mentis est."

³ According to the Stoics the highest god was *πῦρ τεχνικόν* (Plac. i. 7. 33 = *Doz.* 305; Diog. Laer. vii. 147). But it is to be noticed that Ovid is speaking of *dí*, not the *opifex rerum*.

⁴ E.g., i. 213.

to show agreement in the several items of the elements, their arrangement, the erect stature of man, the characteristic qualities of the elements, the creating deity, the zones, the place of the stars, the earth, the proper inhabitants of each of the elements, the animation of the stars, their divinity, the divine seed of man, and the likeness of his mind to the divine fire. Some of these topics are peculiar to Stoicism; all could have been found in the Stoic treatises on the world and its providential ordering. Stoicism in Ovid's day was well known at Rome, and Stoic sources were perhaps easiest of access to Ovid. He would not, in view of his own character and the nature of his project, seek to outline faithfully and in all its detail the Stoic cosmogony; but it has been seen in how few places he has failed to accord with the latter. In view of all these things I regard it highly probable that the account presented by Ovid is essentially Stoic.

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A ROMAN ASTROLOGER AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE: JULIUS FIRMICUS MATERNUS

BY LYNN THORNDIKE

During the Italian Renaissance astrological treatises were thought as important as other classical writings, and were frequently printed. As astrology came to be considered a worthless delusion, they were forgotten or were stigmatized as spurious writings when encountered among the works of well-known authors like Ptolemy and Lucian. Today the importance of the magical and astrological writings of the ancient world, if only because of their bulk, has been again recognized. Greek papyri filled with magic texts are being brought to light and published; many dissertations on ancient superstition have appeared. The revived interest in classical astrology is seen, not only in such a work as Bouché-Leclercq's *L'astrologie grecque*,¹ but also in the *Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Astrologorum*,² a series of volumes now appearing in which a group of European scholars are co-operating under the leadership of Professor Franz Cumont in providing a guide to the many astrological manuscripts in European libraries. Besides this, in recent years several astrological treatises have been edited and published separately. In fact, the movement has advanced so far that already German scholars are busy in detecting in those astrological writings which are extant their indebtedness to, and dependence on, earlier works which we no longer possess.³ The value of astrological books to the student of ancient religions,⁴ or indeed of the whole mental life of the times, is being appreciated; and the influence of astrology

¹ Paris, 1899, 658 pp., illus. One might also note De la Ville de Mirmont, *L'Astrologie chez les Gallo-Romains*, Bordeaux, 1904.

² Brussels, 1898-.

³ See articles by W. Kroll in the *Catalogus*, and F. Boll, "Studien über Claudius Ptolemaeus," *Jahrb. f. kl. Philol.*, Suppl. XXI (1894), 49-244.

⁴ See Cumont, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans*, New York, 1912; or his briefer chapter on "Astrology and Magic" in his *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, Chicago, 1911.

upon the form of history in the Middle Ages has been interestingly discussed by F. v. Bezold.¹

I intend to show that an astrological treatise may also give us a picture of past society and thus contribute to the content of history. The point is that in trying to predict the future the astrologers really depict their own civilization. Their scope is as broad as are human life and human interests. Slave and artisan are dealt with as well as emperor and philosopher, and the astrologer can boast with Juvenal

*quidquid agunt homines, votum timor ira voluptas
gaudia discursus, nostri farrago libelli est.*

Indeed the astrological poet Manilius does boast, proudly contrasting his art to the fictions and sentimentalities of other poets:

It embraces every sort of fact, every effort, every achievement, and every art, that through all the phases of human life may concern human fate; and it has disposed these in as many varied ways as there are positions of the stars; has attributed to each object definite functions and appropriate names; and through the stars by a fixed system has ordained a complete census of the human race.²

Nor is astrology prone to that usual failing of historical records, the omission of what is obvious at the time of writing, since it deals in futurities which are never obvious and must be explicitly predicted.

But what is the historical reliability of astrological works? We must not think of them as compositions by ignorant quacks and impostors for a credulous and inferior minority of the public, full of extravagant promises and terrifying threats. Practically everyone believed in astrology; learned men wrote treatises on the art, which took itself with great seriousness and prided itself upon its scientific methods. Moreover, in an astrological handbook there was almost no occasion for the personal or party prejudice of so many professed historians, or for the satiric bias of a Juvenal. Even Christian and pagan wrote much alike on this theme. "The complete census of the human race" supplied by an astrologer is unsystematic perhaps, and may be more meager than his pretentious prospectus leads one to expect, but it seems to have the merit of being a naïve, unconscious, largely objective and sincere picture of his

¹ *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, VIII (1892), 29 ff.

² *Astronomica* III. 67.

own age. There is, however, one difficulty. Does the author really picture his own society, or are his topics, which we suppose to represent the structure of contemporary civilization, merely traditional categories long fixed by the rules of his art? and are the details of his subject-matter his own intelligent adaptation of the general principles of his art to present conditions, or are they slavishly copied from earlier manuals? This question must be determined in each particular case largely from internal evidence.¹

This article will consider the third and fourth books of the *Mathesis* of Julius Firmicus Maternus as a specific instance of how an astrological treatise may be utilized as a historical source. Firmicus lists various constellations, and states under each its effects upon men born under it. This introduces a quantitative element, since the same phenomenon may be mentioned under several constellations; and one naturally assumes that those matters to which Firmicus devotes most space and emphasis are the most prominent features of his age. Therefore an analysis of his *apotelesmata* (i.e., "effects") should give us a description and to some extent a measurement of fourth-century civilization.

The *Mathesis* contains eight books, but the first two are introductory and not devoted to *apotelesmata*, while the last four have not yet appeared in a critical edition.² They do not rest on as early manuscripts as the other books, while the old printed editions of 1497 and 1499 differ considerably, and more than is stated by Boll

¹ Thus the first two books of Hephaestion of Thebes (Engelbrecht, *Hephæstion von Theben und sein astrologisches Compendium*, Vienna, 1887) simply reproduce Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*. But Guido Bonatti, a thirteenth century astrologer (*Liber astronomicus*, Augsburg, 1491, 422 fols.), though he cites the ancients, evidently writes for and of his own age, replying to arguments of contemporary theologians against astrology; instructing how to determine whether the candidate for a position as abbot, bishop, or cardinal, will secure the coveted office, and how to find the most auspicious hour for laying a church corner-stone; and mentioning sugar, unknown to the ancient world.

² The editions of the *Mathesis* are as follows: Iulii Firmici Materni Matheseos Libri VIII ediderunt W. Kroll et F. Skutsch. Fasciculus prior libros IV priores et quinti prooemium continens. Lipsiae, 1897, 280 pp.; Julius Firmicus de nativitatibus. . . . Impressum Venetiis per Symonem papiensem dictum bivilaque, 1497 die 13 Iunii, CXV fols; Iulii Firmici Astronomicorum libri octo integri et emendati ex Seythiciis oris ad nos nuper allati. . . . Venetiis cura et diligentia Aldi Ro. Mense octob. MID. The Basel editions of 1533 and 1551 by M. Pruckner reproduce the Aldine text. The references throughout this article are to the page and line of Kroll-Skutsch; the second fascicle has recently been published.

in Pauly-Wissowa—for instance, over one-third of Book v in the Aldine edition (pp. 194–214) is omitted in the *editio princeps*.¹ Moreover, although these four books cover more pages than the other two, they do not supply so many details nor so satisfactory a picture of human society. These divergences, mainly ones of omission, do not invalidate the results gained from the third and fourth books, but do raise the question whether the later books, especially the fifth and sixth, were written by Firmicus. In them the wording becomes vaguer, little knowledge is shown of conditions at the time that Firmicus wrote, the predictions are more sensational and rhetorical. Only the latter portion of the eighth book carries the conviction of reality that books three and four do. These two books are both independent units and supply a general picture of human life.

Firmicus flourished during the reigns of Constantine the Great and his sons.² Sicily was his native land; he was of senatorial rank and very well educated for his time, showing interest in natural philosophy, literature, and rhetoric. He writes on astrology at the request of a similarly cultured friend, Lollianus or Mavortius, who had held various important governmental posts. Firmicus is also the author of a work *On the Error of Profane Religions*,³ addressed to Constantius and Constans, and urging them to eradicate pagan cults. The writing of two such books by one man has long given critics pause, and is a splendid warning against taking anything for granted in our study of the past. The assertion of Boll that "there is no question but that he was a pagan when he wrote his book on astrology"⁴ seems to me overconfident; but whatever the personal convictions of the author of the *Mathesis* may have been, it is certain that Christianity has made little impression upon his *apotelesmata*. On the other hand, in his Christian work he not only never attacks astrology, but he criticizes certain pagan cults as sharply for their incorrect physical notions as he does others for their travestying of Christian mysteries, while his allusions to the planets, among

¹ I regard these additions in the Aldine as spurious.

² For bibliography of Firmicus see Boll's article "Firmicus" in Pauly-Wissowa.

³ A more critical edition than that in Migne is by Konrat Ziegler, Leipzig, 1907.

⁴ Pauly-Wissowa, VI, 2365.

which is a representation of the Sun making a reproachful address to certain pagans,¹ indicate that he still regarded the stars as of immense importance in the administration of the universe. Moreover, as before, he sets the emperors above the rest of mankind and closely associates them with the celestial bodies and "the supreme God."²

Do Firmicus' *apotelesmata* apply to his own century or are they copied from earlier writers? He uses words and phrases that are evidently from the Greek; he frequently mentions authorities, especially the Greeks and "the divine men of Egypt and Babylon"; and regards himself as rendering available for the Latin-speaking world an art which their writers (so he says) have hitherto neglected. Consequently recent investigators of classical astrology have been trying to discover the nature of these earlier writings and to make out how far their contents are preserved for us in the *Mathesis*. Thus far sources have been discovered or suggested only for limited

¹ Ziegler, p. 23.

² Compare Kroll-Skutsch, p. 86, with Ziegler, p. 53. Consequently the date of writing the *Mathesis* should be determined without any assumptions as to Firmicus' religion; and I am inclined to dispute Mommsen's contention (*Hermes*, XXIX, 468-72) that "it is beyond doubt" that the *Mathesis* was written between 334 and 337 A.D. To accept this conclusion it is necessary to explain away the mention of Lollianus as *ordinario consuli designato* (Kroll-Skutsch, 3, 27), an office which he held in 355. I think that it is preferable to explain away the apparent mentions of Constantine the Great, upon which Mommsen laid so much stress. The names, Constantine and Constantius, are frequently confused in the sources, and the expression "Constantinus scilicet maximus divi Constantini filius" (37, 25) might as well be read "Constantius, son of Constantine" as "Constantine, son of Constantius." The words "Constantinum maximum principem et huius invictissimos liberos, dominos et Caesares nostros" seem to refer unmistakably to Constantine, but they occur in a prayer to the planets and to the supreme God that Constantine and his children may "rule over our posterity and the posterity of our posterity through infinite succession of ages." As this is simply equivalent to expressing a hope that the dynasty may never become extinct, there seems no reason why the passage should not be left unaltered in a book published after the death of Constantine.

Moreover, Firmicus explicitly states that the writing of his book has been long delayed (1, 3 and 3, 19), and it is evident that he and his friend were scarcely young when the promise to compose the *Mathesis* was first made. Lollianus was then *consularis* of Campania and, according to inscriptions, had already held a number of offices. Firmicus would frequently give up his task in despair, but then Lollianus would urge him on again. Having become "Count of all the Orient," he continued his importunities, until at last when he was proconsul and ordinary-consul-elect the book was finished and presented to him. Meanwhile Firmicus had retired from public life. Yet we are asked to believe, not merely that he writes a vehement invective against profane religions a decade later, but also that, twenty years after, his friend is still a vigorous administrator and praetorian praefect (Ammianus Marcellinus xvi. 8. 5).

portions of the *Mathesis*, and chiefly in other books than iii and iv, and in these cases it is evident that Firmicus has made additions and alterations and is no mere copyist.¹

The criticism has been made, however, that where Firmicus is most original he is too rhetorical. Boll asserts that he breathes "the sensational atmosphere of the schools of rhetoric" and of the Pseudo-Quintilian declamations, and that "all the far-fetched calamities which in his pages continually menace mankind reveal the fearful weight with which this superstition afflicted human minds."² But "far-fetched calamities" in that day did not merely lurk in superstitious minds, they were perpetrated in the full glare of publicity. If Firmicus predicts death by being thrown to wild beasts, we must remember that even Constantine's panegyrist recounts how he had thrown Frankish chiefs into the arena at Trier and "wearied the raging beasts by the multitude" of victims.³ Moreover, it is in the later books that Firmicus is most sensational. Death by beasts is mentioned nineteen times in Book viii, only once in Books iii and iv. Furthermore, he is, if anything, more rhetorical in describing contemporary facts, such as his personal experiences or the pagan practices which he attacks in the *De errore*, than in predicting future possibilities. Consequently his rhetoric is no proof of unreality. Rather, if he were entirely unrhethorical, would he leave us with a false impression of his age. Finally, our method of statistical analysis will have the tendency to separate such chaff from the wheat of historical truth. Ideas will be counted rather than words, and only those passages included where Firmicus evidently has some distinct idea in his own mind and makes an express prediction.

The space limits of the present article permit only a summary of the chief results of my analysis rather than a complete exposition of it; and allow specific references in the footnotes only for those passages which are quoted, instead of for all that are enumerated, as I had planned. But I hope that the reader will get a fairly clear idea of the method employed as well as of the historical information gained thereby.

¹ See Boll, *Sphaera*, 401; Kroll in the *Catalogus*, II, 159; V, 2, 143.

² Pauly-Wissowa, VI, 2373.

³ *Paneg.* vii. 10-12; Eutropius x. 3.

Firmicus makes more allusions to public life than to any other human activity. This is appropriate in a Roman writer, especially under the bureaucratic paternalism of Diocletian and Constantine. A number of predictions refer unmistakably to their system of government, showing that Firmicus has not heedlessly copied the *apotelesmata* of earlier astrological handbooks, but has interpreted the influences of the stars to fit his own age. He mentions praetorian praefects, *vicarii* (rulers of dioceses), *praesides* (provincial governors), *decemprini* (governing boards of municipalities), and *curiosi* (special officials connected with the imperial post).¹ He is accurate in saying *scutarios vel protectores imperatorum*, since the *protectores* were originally largely selected from the *scutarii*. He correctly alludes to *cornicularii* and *commentarienses* as bureaucratic officials connected with the administration of criminal justice, though in earlier times these were military offices, and his juxtaposition of the two names is duplicated in the inscription of Lambesia and in Pseudo-Asconius. He mentions *discussio*, the revision of the public accounts in vogue in the late imperial period and cited in Harpers' dictionary from no earlier sources than Symmachus and Justinian. He also speaks of *discussores rationales*, although Seeck in Pauly-Wissowa states that the title *discussor*, "employed since the fourth century A.D. for officials of very different kinds," but with the common characteristic of being extraordinary inspectors connected with the treasury, occurs first in 368 A.D. (*Cod. Theod.*, VIII, 15, 5).²

Besides a great number of vague predictions of political life or mentions of well-known magistracies,³ due attention is given to

¹ *Praesides*, in 4 passages; *decemprini*, in 5; the others once or twice each. None of these offices is mentioned in the other books of the *Mathesis*.

² Kroll-Skutsch, 136, 28; 172, 22; 180, 19.

³ Administration and administrators, 28 passages; emperors, 8; those concerned with the affairs of emperors or of great men, 4; friends of, known to, or in favor with, emperors and powerful men, 8; rule of the whole world, 5; kings, 29; *fascēs* and consular rank, 12, including proconsuls, 8, and *consules ordinarii*, 3; rulers set over great cities or provinces, 18; magistrate of a small place or single city, 3; possessing the *imperium*, 3; ambassadors, 3; messengers, 6; "public acts," 9; public honors and popular favor, 6; *coronati*, 8; those who sell their lives to kings or to powerful men *viti cuiusdam causa*, 1.

One reference to "overthrowers of emperors," if not also the 8 predictions that persons will become emperors, is inconsistent with the statement made earlier that the emperor alone is not subject to the stars, since as lord of the whole world his fate is

Roman law.¹ Indeed Firmicus states that he himself had formerly "resisted with unbending confidence and firmness" factious and wicked and avaricious men, "who from fear of law-suits seemed terrible to the unfortunate"; and that "with liberal mind, despising forensic gains, to men in trouble. . . . I displayed a pure and faithful defense in the courts of law." By this upright conduct he incurred much enmity and danger.² In allusions to military affairs generals are mentioned twice as often as soldiers; and while the latter are once called "glorious soldiers" and promised promotion and happiness, in other passages we hear of "miserable soldiers" and "the everlasting burden" of military service.³ The matter of finance, so prominent in the declining empire, receives due recognition. At least thirty passages have to do with public finance, which receives as much attention and more specific description than private banking and commerce.⁴ The two seem closely connected and successful business men are likely to be drawn into public finance. Economic paternalism is suggested by such phrases as "public wares," "public arts but hidden and miserable," "public artificers," "superintendents of the royal weaving establishments." Public games and state education are mentioned.⁵ Deposition from power, failure to remain in office, imperial disfavor, exile, captivity, or violent death are occasionally mentioned as the fate of men engaged in

directly determined by the supreme God and he "is numbered among those gods whom the principal divinity has established to make and maintain everything" (Kroll-Skutsch, 86, 19).

Kroll (*Catalogus*, V, 2, 148) thinks the frequent mention of kings an indication of use of Hellenistic works, and does not believe it likely that "the kings of the Bosphorani, Armenians, or Parthians, and such monarchs" are meant. Yet when Constantine made his three sons Caesars, he created a kingdom in Asia for his nephew Hannibalianus, and one source states that he was given the title "king of kings." And we have already heard a panegyrist of Constantine apply the term *reges* to Frankish chiefs.

¹ Judges, 19; judicial assessors, 1; jurists, 7; advocates, 5; notaries, court reporters, scribes, etc., 7.

² Kroll-Skutsch, 195, 3 ff.

³ Military leaders (usually *duces*), 41; soldiers, 16.

⁴ *Fiscus*, 9; tax collectors (*exactores*, *vectigaliarii*, and *publicani*), 4; farming of the taxes (*conductio*), 4; *procuratores*, 4; *rationales*, 3; public accounts, 4; intrusted with royal treasure or deposits by foreign nations, 5; *annonae*, 5; *horrea*, 2.

⁵ There are also allusions to imperial tutors, private secretaries, and men of letters, and to pleasure-makers to royalty.

politics. Once elevation to a dignified public position is promised to men of the lower classes (*iacentes homines et abiectos*), but only after great toil, obstruction, and sacrifice of property.

To religion Firmicus gives much less space than to politics. There are no clear references to Christianity, but there are few allusions to any particular cults. Firmicus, however, indicates the existence of many cults, speaking five times of the heads of religions, and characterizing men as "those who regard all religions and gods with a certain trepidation," "those devoted to certain religions," "those who cherish the greatest religions," and so on. Temples,¹ priests, and divination² are the three features of religion that he mentions most. Magic and religion are closely associated in his predictions, for instance, "temple priests ever famed in magic lore." Sacred or religious literatures and persons devoted to them are mentioned thrice, while in a fourth passage we hear of men "investigating the secrets of all religions and of heaven itself." Other interesting descriptions³ are of those who "stay in temples in an unkempt state and always walk abroad thus, and never cut their hair, and who would announce something to men as if said by the gods, such as are wont to be in temples, who are accustomed to predict the future"; and of "men terrible to the gods and who despise all kinds of perjuries. Moreover, they will be terrible to all demons, and at their approach the wicked spirits of demons flee; and they free men who are thus troubled, not by force of words but by their mere appearing; and however violent the demon may be who shakes the body and spirit of man, whether he be aerial or terrestrial or infernal, he flees at the bidding of this sort of man and fears his precepts with a certain veneration. These are they who are called exorcists by the people." Religious games and contests are mentioned four times: the carving, consecrating, adoring, and clothing of images of the gods, twice each; porters at religious ceremonies, thrice; hymn singers, twice;

¹ Temple-robbers, 5; servile or ignoble employ in temples, 5; spending one's time in temples, 4; builders of temples, 3; beneficiaries of temples, 3; temple guards, 2; *neocori*, 3; and so on, making 35 references to temples in all.

² Chief priests, 5; priests, 9; of provinces, 1; priestess, 1; priests of Cybele (*archigalli*), 3; Asiarchae, 1; priest of some great goddess, 1; illicit rites, 1. There are 27 passages concerning divination.

³ Kroll-Skutsch, 148, 8 and 123, 4.

pipe-players once. Five passages represent persons professionally engaged in religion as growing rich thereby.

We are told that men "predict the future either by the divinity of their own minds or by the admonition of the gods or from oracles or by the venerable discipline of some art."¹ Augurs, aruspices, interpreters of dreams, *mathematici* (astrologers), diviners, and prophets are mentioned. Once Firmicus alludes to false divination but he usually implies that it is a valid art.

From religion and divination we easily pass to the occult arts and sciences, and thence to learning and literature in general, from which occult learning is scarcely distinguished in the *Mathesis*. Magicians or magic arts are mentioned no less than seven times in varied relations with religion, philosophy, medicine, and astronomy or astrology, showing that magic was not invariably regarded as evil in that age, and that it was confused and intermingled with the arts and philosophy as well as with the religion of the times.² There are a number of other allusions to secret and illicit arts or writings; these, however, appear to be more unfavorably regarded and probably largely consist of witchcraft and poisoning.

The evidence of the *Mathesis* suggests that the civilization of declining Rome was at least not conscious of the intellectual decadence and lack of scientific interest so generally imputed to it. We find three descriptions of intellectual pioneers who learn what no master has ever taught them, and one other instance of men who pretend to do so. We also hear of "those learning much and knowing all, also inventors," and of those "learning everything," and "desiring to learn the secrets of all arts." This curiosity, it is true, seems to be largely devoted to occult science, but it also seems plain that mathematics and medicine were important factors in fourth-

¹ Kroll-Skutsch, 201, 6.

² Cumont says (*Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, p. 188): "But the ancients expressly distinguished 'magic,' which was always under suspicion and disapproved of, from the legitimate and honorable art for which the name 'theurgy' was invented." This distinction was made by Porphyry and others, and is alluded to by Augustine in the *City of God*, but it is to be noted that Firmicus does not use the word 'theurgy.' Cumont also states (p. 179) that in the last period of paganism the name philosopher was finally applied to all adepts in occult science. But in Firmicus, while magic and philosophy are associated in two passages, there are five other allusions to magic and three separate mentions of philosophers.

century culture as well as the rhetorical studies whose rôle has perhaps been overestimated. Let us compare the statistics. Oratory is mentioned eighteen times, and it is to be noted that literary attainments and learning as well as mere eloquence are regarded as essential in an orator. Men of letters other than orators are found in six passages, and poets in only three. A passage reading "philologists or those skilled in laborious letters" suggests that four instances of the phrase *difficiles litterae* should perhaps be classed under linguistic rather than occult studies. There are four allusions to grammarians and two to masters of grammar, as against one description of "contentions, contradictory dialecticians, professing that they know what no teaching has acquainted them with, mischievous fellows, but unable to do any effective thinking."¹ On the other hand, there are fourteen allusions to astronomy and astrology (not including the *mathematici* already listed under divination), three to geometry, and six to other varieties of mathematics.² Philosophers are mentioned five times; practitioners of medicine, eleven times;³ surgeons, once; and botanists, twice. These professions seem to be well paid and are spoken of in complimentary terms.

That education was still widespread is indicated by eighteen mentions of masters, while one phrase suggests educational administration.⁴ In two cases where men are said to be strangers to letters they are once diseased and once "of accursed mind."

From the numerous references to music⁵ and athletics⁶ we infer that they were still prominent features of ancient culture and education. On the other hand, relatively little is said of the stage,⁷ and the sole allusion to gladiators describes them as "those who

¹ Kroll-Skutsch, 161, 26.

² *Computus*, 3; *calculus*, 2; and "those who excel at numbers," 1.

³ Including two mentions of court physicians (*archiatri*). See *Codex Theod.*, Lib. XIII, Tit. 3, *passim*, for their position.

⁴ There are 7 vague allusions to *disciplina*, *doctrina*, and *sophia*.

⁵ Sixteen or 17 in all, including 4 about instrument-makers or -players, 2 concerning composers, 4 in which music is described as a source of pleasure or as evoking admiration and public honors.

⁶ Athletes, 10; lovers of athletes, 1; masters of athletes, 1; *palaestrae* and *gymnasiums*, 7.

⁷ Jugglers, mimes or dancers, actors and actresses are mentioned once each.

perish by an atrociously cruel death in the sight of the people."¹ Firmicus is far from regarding travel as an amusement, and often speaks of its dangers or inconveniences.²

Professor Dill has pointed out that it is "curious to note how small a part of the Theodosian Code is devoted to the subject of trade and commerce." He thinks that "the *negotiatores* were in the fifth century probably on a much lower social level than the humblest landed proprietor," and he says that "if fortunes were accumulated in commerce, they have left few traces in the pages of the Code." A reason for this, he believes with other historians, is that "the wars and social confusion of the latter part of the third century gave a shock to commerce from which it never recovered."³ The predictions of Firmicus scarcely substantiate these statements. He does not, it is true, devote very many passages to commerce,⁴ but he says nothing to indicate that the lot of the *negotiator* is a hard or a low one. Rather he mentions it as a path to wealth or to important public positions, and several times gives financiers a high intellectual character. Guardians and agents of persons and property are mentioned in eighteen passages.

Firmicus appears also to have considerable respect for artists and artisans,⁵ and draws no sharp distinction between the fine arts and other industries. Architects, sculptors, painters, and mosaic-makers are mentioned, and art still seems to be largely in the service of religion. Five passages listing goldsmiths, gilders, those who adorn garments with gold, workers in gold leaf, and silversmiths, and describing them as normally prosperous, are of interest in view of the fact that in this period only copper coins were in circulation,

¹ Kroll-Skutsch, 121, 20.

² In 10 out of 30 passages.

³ Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century*, 246-47.

⁴ Those in charge of accounts, 6; accounts, 3; *negotiatio*, 16; *fenus*, *generatio*, etc., 7; *mensae*, 3; sureties, guards of money, and secreters of money, twice each; and other vague allusions.

⁵ *Artifices*, as well as priests, magicians, and physicians, are among those "who gain their livelihood by these arts and possess such genius that they learn by themselves what no training of a master has transmitted to them." All through the *Matthesis* Firmicus speaks of God in the creation of man as an *artifex*, and in the *De errore* also mentions "the supreme God who composed all things with the moderation of divine artifice" (Ziegler, p. 5).

and the coinage almost hopelessly debased. There are many references to lapidaries and dealers in precious stones (8 passages), to pigments (8), aromatics (8), dyers (7), those who find or invent colors (3), sellers of unguents (2), pharmacists (1), and medicaments (1). All this suggests the painted courtesan, and one is somewhat surprised at these indications of highly colored and highly scented luxury in an age of approaching political and economic decline and of Christian and ascetic growth.

The following are other occupations, arranged according to the frequency with which Firmicus mentions them: "arts concerned with fire and iron" (12); cooks and tavern-keepers (7); fishermen, tanners, and guards of sepulchers (5); embalmers, gardeners, and pilots (4); makers of tunics, manufacturers of linen, farmers, hunters, keepers of wild beasts, shipowners, and those who draw water from deep wells (3); workers in wool, in bronze, in other metals, miners, fullers, shoemakers, millers or bakers, undertakers, flower-sellers, cattle fanciers, cowherds, shepherds, grooms, fowlers, sailors, water-carriers (2); weavers, diggers of gold, "mechanics," turners, wine merchants, makers of articles for feminine use who are welcome in palaces, swineherd, stable boy, keeper of the royal animals, those who clean drains (1).

Firmicus also occasionally describes the conditions attending different occupations, speaking, for example, of "illustrious and noble arts from fire and from iron, and arts that are brought to the notice of all by the famous stamp of nobility," and again of arts which "will be either sordid or squalid or involving disagreeable stench, or ones in which constant vigilance is demanded of the workmen."¹ Of nine vague allusions to "acts about water" and aquatic employment, five stigmatize that mode of life as laborious; and one mention of "unceasing labors about water" is immediately followed by a more specific description of "day laborers devoted to unremitting toil and who are wont to hire out their bodies for some job, earning a living by carrying loads on their backs and shoulders."² In this connection we may note that the expression *urinatores aquas ex altis puteis levantes* indicates that *urinator* does not always mean "a diver."³

¹ Kroll-Skutsch, 261, 3 and 166, 28.

² *Ibid.*, 224, 22.

³ *Ibid.*, 168, 18.

The treatment of agriculture seems meager. Possibly this is because farming was largely done by slaves and *coloni*. Owners of great estates are twice mentioned, and farmers are well spoken of as "cultivators of the fields who seek their fortunes with their own strength, efficient, prudent, and who always joy and delight in damp soil"; and again as "respectable farmers of decent habits, and rich, and whose possessions always adjoin the sea or rivers or swamps."¹ Gardeners, on the other hand, are once called "wretched."

From honest employment we pass to the underworld of crime and vice. It does not, however, seem to have been kept under very successfully in Firmicus' day. His descriptions of the ways in which men meet with injuries and death² give the impression that he lives in an age of war and violence. Sixty-eight passages predicting accusations, judicial sentences, and forms of punishment also give a sinister impression of his age, whether we choose to take them as signs of a disorderly and criminal society, or as manifestations of a suspicious, cruel, and oppressive government. A dozen passages show the prevalency of capital punishment, and seven others mention executioners. Seven attest the widespread employment of torture in this period, and twenty-two prophesy imprisonment, or mention wardens and prison guards. The squalor of prisons and the unkempt hair and deformity of prisoners are described. Men are sometimes imprisoned for life, or at least die in prison. Twelve passages mention delation, informers, and betrayers. Firmicus seems to regard them and executioners as of the same class with criminals. The following are the varieties of crimes and criminals in the order of the frequency with which they are mentioned in some 36 passages: thieves and unspecified homicide, 7 times each; sorcerers, 6; temple robbers, and death at the hands of pirates or brigands, 5; family murders, burglars, forgers, and those who deny

¹ *Ibid.*, 102, 22, and 254, 22.

² Of 135 passages directly mentioning death (and not including such predictions as, "They lose wives and children," or "murderers of wife and children") 53 use the word *biothanati* to indicate a violent death; 10 use *violentus*; an "evil death," 17; from disease, 11; from insanity, 1; from vicious excesses, 1; by falls from heights, 5; by sword, 5; by water, 4; by fire, 3; by ruins, 1; thrown to beasts, 1; in battle, 1; as a gladiator, 1; by robbers, 2; by pirates, 2; by one's domestics, 1; abroad, 5; in the desert, 1; in watery regions, 1; in prison, 2; public, 4; as a judicial penalty, 6 or 8; early death, 8; sudden and painless, 2; sad, 2; glorious, 1.

deposits intrusted to them, 4; poisoners, and further mentions of brigands and of pirates, 3; vagabonds, 2; cutthroats, and suicide, once each. Poisoners are twice mentioned with sorcery, and secret writings are so mentioned once.

Firmicus gives a shocking and disgusting picture of the immorality of his age, and devotes as much space to lust and vice as to religion. Of sixty-four passages nine mention courtesans and harlots; four speak of panderers; incest and cohabitation with relatives are described in seven places, and four times at considerable length; adultery is mentioned four times; eight passages predict pederasty, the great vice of antiquity; effeminates are mentioned twice; unnatural vices and lusts of men, three times; those of women, also three times. The remaining passages speak either of illicit love and sexual intercourse, or of an impure life, or in a general way of vices and lusts, sometimes described as "preposterous." In nineteen cases vice and lust involve the offender in infamy, which also is predicted in fifteen passages where no specific mention of sexual immorality occurs. Sexual deficiency is often correlated with immorality. It is interesting to observe that in the *De errore* Firmicus criticizes the immoral ritual of pagan cults in the same phrases that he employs in predicting vice in the *Mathesis*.

Nor do Firmicus' predictions give us a favorable impression of family life in the fourth century. Homes seem to be disrupted too frequently, and the members of families are too often separated by death or dissension.¹ Marriage does not appear to be in a normal and healthy state.² Finally the evidence is strong for the prevalence

¹ Death of both parents or orphanage of children (*orbis, orbis*), 18 (in some cases, however, the meaning seems to be that children are deprived of their parents' society and care rather than bereaved); death of father, 6; death of mother, 5; sickness of mother, 5; her enslavement, 1; separation from parents, 3; alienation from them, 5.

² Remain unmarried, 4; marry late, 4; "marry with difficulty," 4; (5 of these cases of remaining unmarried or marrying with difficulty are due to sterility); an early marriage, only once; many wives, 1; a "good marriage," 3; men gain wealth, happiness, and success through their wives, 10; a wife from a temple, 1; marriage with a prophetess, 1; a foreign wife, 1; 12 undesirable marriages, including one "unworthy" marriage, one unhappy match, one case where the husband "contracts infamy from his wife's conduct," six cases where men wed prostitutes, while wives are described twice as sterile, once as feeble, once as deformed, once as old, once as a virago, twice as not compliant to their husbands, thrice as slaves, once as degenerate, once as of lower birth than the husband, and thrice as widows, who seem almost as unfavorably

of much sterility and childlessness, yet the old practice of exposing infants seems to continue unabated.¹ All this goes to prove the depopulation and decline of the empire. Nine passages show that the principle of primogeniture is observed in transmitting family property and suggest a selfish spirit on the part of the younger brothers, who would seem to be hoping for the death of their older brothers.² In comparing eighteen mentions of family dissensions with seventeen indications of family affection it should be remembered that the latter is probably usually taken for granted. It is, in fact, generally mentioned incidentally, not predicted expressly. One pleasing picture is of "fathers of families, removed from all luxurious pleasure, just, having leisure for self-communion, apart from the uproar of public intercourse."³

From Firmicus' descriptions of human personalities we can perhaps gain some further notion of the men and moral standards of his time. His character-sketching seems frank, unprejudiced, and true to life; he occasionally mingles good and evil traits in the same persons. Among desirable characteristics three stand out, namely, goodness, charm, and intellectual ability.⁴ Men possessed of personal charm succeed in life much oftener than those who are merely good, and slightly oftener than men with brains. They also get along with their wives better than good men do. The good, however, are often attractive too, as in one case of justice, piety, firm regarded as the others. Unstable affection of husband toward wife or quarrels between them occupy 8 passages, in 3 of which the children too are concerned. Yet in 3 of these same cases the men are given high characters. In other passages actual divorce is mentioned but once; separation, however, occurs 4 times; widowhood, 7; death of wife, 4.

¹ No children, 12; "either one child or none," 1; "hardly have children," 1; extinction of an entire family, 1; a large family, 2; children of both sexes or twins, 1; death of one's children, 4; loss of their affection, not including cases already listed, 2; adoption, 5; viragoes, 2; hermaphrodites, 4; eunuchs, 4; *archigalli*, 3; exposed, 13.

² Such passages as, "He will be older than all his brothers, or if anyone was born before him, such a one will be alienated from his parents." Kroll-Skutsch, 97, 17; 97, 21; 105, 20; 105, 28; 127, 16; 131, 8; 131, 12; 187, 5; 247, 17.

³ Kroll-Skutsch, 253, 18.

⁴ *Boni, justi, honesti, honestis moribus*, etc., 30; in 8 charming also and twice lovers of pleasure, in 4 serious and grave, in 3 successful, once easily deceived, once critical. *Venusti, grati, suaves, decori, decentes, amabiles*, 22; of whom 3 are lustful, 9 successful. *Ingeniosi, cordati, arguti, acuti, magnae mentis*, 19; of whom 1 is good, 1 modest, 2 efficient, 6 successful.

We may also note men who are great, 2; or "divine," at least in certain respects, 5.

love of friends, and a pure and noble life, combined in men who are not only "delightful, gay, musical, continually at play, lovable, pleasing, charming . . . tall and blonde, their eyes flashing with a bright fascination," and with beautiful hair, but who are also "lustful lovers . . . often ardently inclined to sexual intercourse." To complete this description of the attractive sons of the planet Venus, we must add that they are large drinkers, moderate eaters, blest with excellent digestion, and that their "life, spirit, and profession ever adheres to music's delights."¹ Efficiency, prudence, bravery, seriousness, temperance, truthfulness, reliability, fidelity, stability, humanity, sociability, and simplicity are other desirable qualities bestowed by the stars. With such traits as ambition, imperiousness, being puffed up with lofty pride, luxury, show, and profusion we near the boundary of undesirable characteristics; but these are stated as attributes of good as well as of evil men. The repellant traits most frequently named are badness and slowness,² which are to some extent correlated with inefficiency and stupidity. We also hear of violence and passion, falsehood, fickleness, cruelty, avarice, miserliness, covetousness, jealousy, enmity, treachery, ingratitude, bitterness, and lugubriousness.

Besides predictions concerned with specific occupations and phases of life, much of Firmicus' space is taken up by vaguer prophesy of prosperity or adversity. It is here that he is most rhetorical. At first sight it may seem that such passages, even taken in the conglomerate, are unlikely to yield any historic facts. Yet one may get from them some idea of the goods most highly prized, if not actually most frequently attained, by the men of that age, and some knowledge of the miseries which they dreaded most or which were in fact their lot.

Forecasts of well-being may be grouped for the most part under three heads: happiness, wealth, and the kindred matters of power, honor, and fame. To this last group 120 passages apply.³ To wealth 125 refer, but many of these do not imply that the persons concerned

¹ Kroll-Skutsch, 249, 19.

² *Malus, malignus, malitiosus, malivolus, iniustus*, 21; *tardus, piger*, 11.

³ Distributed as follows: power, 44; glory, 41; nobility, 30; honor, 23; dignities, 17; greatness, 15; *clarus*, 9; *famosus*, 5; *notus*, 5; *principatus*, 5; authority, 3; splendor, 3.

are to be very rich. In many cases men grow rich through the regular pursuit of callings already listed; there are also eight general descriptions of self-made men. Inheritance, however, is a great source of wealth, or at least is one eagerly anticipated by those consulting astrologers.¹ If, however, we think that seven passages which hold out hopes of finding hidden treasure are visionary, we are mistaken, since there are three laws on the discovery of hidden treasure in the Theodosian Code.² Women seem often to be property-holders.

The treatment of the theme, happiness, is most extraordinary. With a very few exceptions Firmicus has but one word to denote happiness, *felix* or *felicitas*, which occurs in 101 passages. When other words modify and qualify it, they are merely quantitative or quite colorless. We hear often enough of "the greatest felicity," and of "increase of felicity," of "the trappings of felicity," and "the adornments of felicity," while a few times "superfluous felicity," and "happiness beyond measure" are mentioned. But qualitative and descriptive modifiers are lacking. In his descriptions of human personalities and of family life Firmicus gave us a few glimpses of a really happy existence, but in passages dealing primarily with prosperity and well-being he seems able to define happiness only in terms of wealth, position, and power. Thus felicity seems to consist largely of the possession of externals and one rather gets the impression that fourth-century humanity was not happy after all, or at least that Firmicus himself derives little satisfaction from the prospect. In predicting wealth, fame, and power his vocabulary is only a little less restricted and stereotyped than in his monotonous reiteration of promises of felicity. He expresses himself without gusto in formulae which possess little vividness or concreteness. His few allusions to amusements point in the same direction. This attitude may express the spirit of an age of decline; it may be partly due to a certain incapacity for gaiety inherent in Roman character; it may be to some extent the product of Firmicus' own temperament and outlook on the world. From this hard world where Socrates and Plato suffered while Alcibiades and Sulla prospered, from his

¹ Twenty-one passages.

² Book X, Title 18, Laws of 315, 380, and 390 A.D.

own perilous and thankless post as defender of the wretched and oppressed against the avaricious and the wicked in the sordid sphere of law courts and forum, he tells us that he has gladly retired to spend his leisure with the divine men of old of Egypt and Babylon and to purify his spirit by contemplation of the stars and of the supreme God who works through them.

It is with a richer vocabulary, a more vivid style, and apparently a deeper sympathy that our author paints the life of the unfortunate and writes "the short and simple annals of the poor." This becomes the more impressive when we remember that he is a man of senatorial rank and writes for an official high in the imperial service. The condensed formulae of an astrological handbook may seem the last place where one would look for *lacrimae rerum*, but Firmicus often alludes to the weary and heavy laden of the ancient world. Professor Dill has noted the same tone in the language of the legislation of the declining empire in the next century. He speaks of its "minute and circumstantial description of oppression and wrong," and again says, "Many of these edicts betray the style of the school rhetorician, and yet there is in many of them the ring of genuine sympathy for misery."¹

The predictions of adversity do not fall as naturally into three great groups as did the promises of prosperity, but I will try to maintain somewhat the same division for purposes of comparison. The 120 predictions of power, nobility, and fame may be offset by 132 passages containing allusions to slavery, captivity, toil and hardship, a low and ignoble existence, unpopularity and infamy.² Against the 125 allusions to wealth may be set 50 predictions of loss of property and 40 descriptions of poverty and destitution. Corresponding to the 101 cases of felicity are 104 passages in which a greater variety of terms is used to denote adversity and unhappiness in general. In fine, whereas generals were mentioned more often than soldiers, and kings than day laborers, the unfortunate are described as often as the prosperous. Moreover, there are fewer duplicates than before. Wealth and happiness went together 33 times, misfortune and

¹ *Roman Society in the Last Century*, 230-31.

² Slavery and servitude, 39; captivity, 13; degenerates, 3; ignoble, 10; inglorious, 2; abject, 2; subjected, 4; dejected, 5; a life of toil, 34; *invidia*, 6; infamy, 34.

poverty are mentioned in the same passage only 22 times; happiness went with power, honor, and fame 32 times, misfortune goes with their opposites only 22 times; wealth was associated with power, honor, and fame 33 times, poverty is mentioned with their opposites only 10 times. That Firmicus saw other factors in unhappiness is further manifested by the fact that he associates it 9 times with danger, 17 times with disease, 9 times with death, 6 times with imprisonment and other penal afflictions. Danger he mentions 51 times in all. Finally against 17 predictions of success that have not yet been recorded may be set 27 failures.¹

Death, injury, and disease loom up large in Firmicus' prospectus for the human race, making us realize the benefits of nineteenth-century medicine as well as of modern peace. No less than 174 passages deal with disease and many of them list two or more ills. Mental disorders are mentioned in 37 places;² physical deformities in six. Other specific ailments mentioned are as follows: blindness and eye troubles, 10; deafness and ear troubles, 5; impediments of speech, 4; baldness, 1; foul odors, 1; dyspeptics, 4; other stomach complaints, 7; dysentery, 2; liver trouble, 1; jaundice, 1; dropsy, 5; spleen disorders, 1; gonorrhoea, 2; other diseases of the urinary bladder and private parts, 6; consumption and lung troubles, 6; hemorrhages, 6; apoplexy, 3; spasms, 5; ills attributed to bad or excessive humors, 12; leprosy and other skin diseases, 6; ague, 1; fever, 1; pains in various parts of the body, 6; internal pains and hidden diseases, 9; diseases of women, 5. There remain a large number of vague allusions to ill-health: 21 to debility, 12 to languor, 3 to invalids, and 49 other passages. Only eight passages allude to the cure of disease. Among the methods suggested are cauterizing, incantations, ordinary remedies, and seeking divine aid, which last is mentioned most often. The eleven references to medical practitioners should, however, be recalled here. The predictions as

¹ Under success I class description of persons "who get whatever they desire," or "who gain all things easily," or "who are always accustomed to do well"; failures are those who "are impeded in all their acts," or who are easily deceived, cheated, and gotten the better of, whether by man or by fate.

² *Aestus animi*, 5; insanity, 13; lunatics, 10; epileptics, 8; melancholia, 3; inflammation of the brain (*frenetici*), 4; delirium, dementia, demoniacs, alienation, and madness, one or two each; vague allusions to mental ills and injuries, 5.

to length of life are inadequate to the drawing of conclusions on that point.

Such is the census of the human race given in the third and fourth books of the *Mathesis* of Julius Firmicus Maternus. Taken altogether, the description seems to fit the age and to give us a fairly clear photograph, even if it is taken by the flashlight of astrology, of ancient civilization in one of its last phases.

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

ADVERBIAL USAGE IN EUGIPPIUS

BY CHARLES CHRISTOPHER MIEROW

The style of Eugippius is exhibited almost solely in the *Vita Severini*, inasmuch as his only other surviving work, a book of excerpts from St. Augustine, is unimportant in this connection.

One of the most striking stylistic traits of the *Vita Severini* is the profuse use of adverbs and adverbial phrases. In this brief *Commemoratorium* (including the introductory letter to Paschasius and the *Capitula*) he uses 310 different adverbs (exclusive of adverbial conjunctions), 44 of which occur five times or more.

It would be interesting to trace all the separate divergences from strictly classical usage in the employment of adverbs and connectives by Eugippius, but the documents necessary for such a continuous tracing are missing. The literary antecedents of Eugippius are unknown to us except in a vague and incidental way. But he clearly belongs to his time, the opening of the sixth century, and belongs stylistically to the better group of writers. His style, while reflecting the general post-classical break-up and rearrangement of adverbial usage, is also marked by an effective and graphic manner which is evidently his own. His literary technique is without a trace of illiteracy such as appears in the self-confessed "*agramatus*" Iordanes.

In preparing this paper all the adverbs, adverbial conjunctions, and conjunctions in the *Vita Severini* were first collected and classified¹ according to derivation and then studied in regard to their literary use. The material will be presented under the following heads: I, Stylistic use of the adverbs; II, Use of connectives, including adverbs, adverbial conjunctions, and conjunctions.

I. STYLISTIC EMPLOYMENT OF THE ADVERBS

1. COMPARATIVES

Eugippius is very fond of using adverbs in the comparative, although in the majority of cases there is no real comparison either

¹ Although the complete list of adverbs classified by derivation is not printed in this paper, it is worth noting that adverbs ending in *-ter* and adverbs in the comparative degree are unusually frequent.

expressed or implied, and the comparative form is employed merely for the purpose of securing greater intensity of expression. Yet no real intensity of expression is secured thereby, because in nearly all cases little or no difference between the force of the comparative and of the positive can be detected. This is particularly evident in those instances where the same adverb is used in both degrees, as may be seen in the following examples:¹

ex supra dicto oppido (3, 1).

in loco . . . superius memorato (36, 1).

sed quid vos ultra demoror (43, 6).

rogans . . . ne ulterius experta requie privaretur (cap. 16).

quos aqua saepe superfluens transcendebat (cap. 15).

ad secretum habitaculum . . . saepius secedebat (4, 7).

in nomine domini perge velociter (4, 3).

perge velocius, denuntians eis (24, 2).

instante ac mirabiliter talia prosecutus aiebat (43, 1).

Maximianum . . . instantius imperat admoneri (24, 2).

multis cito plurima largiturus (7, 1).

adiicit citius illos . . . probaturos (32, 2).

habens Gothos . . . vehementer infensos (5, 1).

dum vehementius turbaretur (5, 1).

Note also the comparatives in the following sections: *evidentius* (3, 3), *studiosius* (9, 1), *religiosius* (12, 2), *attentius* (13, 1), *fortius* (27, 1), *districtius* (30, 2), *longius* (39, 1).

Once a double comparative is found:

cum se magis . . . enixius commendaret (41, 2).

2. ADJECTIVES USED FOR ADVERBS

Eugippius uses with noticeable frequency an adjective in agreement with the subject (especially an omitted subject) of a verb, where an adverbial modifier of the predicate would seem more natural. The effect of this is a distinct gain in vividness.

¹ In all references the numbers refer to chapter and section of Mommsen's edition (Berlin, 1898) in the *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*; *ad Pasch.* means the *Epistola ad Paschasium* and *cap.* refers to the *Eugippii Commeminatorii capitula*.

Perhaps the most striking example of this construction is the use of *matutinus*¹ for *mane*:

Cui tota nocte festinans matutinus occurrit (31, 2).

(But *mane* is found in cap. 30 and 12, 5.)

festinus is twice used instead of *velociter* or *properanter*.²

de contumaci, ait, oppido festinus abscedo (1, 3).

vade ergo festinus (4, 3)

(exactly equivalent in meaning to *perge velociter* which appears just above in the same chapter).

laetus is used in the same way instead of *libenter* or another adverb of similar meaning (the adverb *laete* does not occur in the *Vita Severini*):

cum laetus abscederet (5, 3).

So too *sollicitus*:

cum diem celebraturum sollicitus intimasset (41, 1).

Other examples are:

cilo securus regnabis (5, 2).

velox itaque secuta correptio prostravit animos arrogantis (8, 3).

cumque pavens et concitus sequeretur (19, 4).

See also cap. 14 (*fortis*); 12, 4 (*anxius*); 14, 2 (*lacrimabundus*); 24, 2 (*inlacrimans*); 40, 3 (*humillimus*).

3. ADVERBIAL PHRASES

Aside from adverbs that are adverbial phrases in origin, such as *admodum*, *denuo*, and the like, the *Vita Severini* contains a large number of phrases which are not only adverbial in force but sometimes actually equivalent to single adverbs. The following may be mentioned: *sine cessatione* (34, 1) for *incessabiliter*;³ *miro modo* (cap. 3) for *mirabiliter*; *animo promptiore* (ad Pasch. 2) for *properanter*; *in tantum* (9, 1; 13, 1; 22, 3) for *ita*; *iam ex hoc* (40, 3), *in futuro* (42, 2), *in posterum* (36, 2), for *post* or *postea*; *qua causa* (27, 1), *quam ob rem* (31, 2), *ob quam rem* (12, 6), *ad hoc* (9, 4), for *ideo* or

¹ See *Aeneid* viii. 465.

² Eugippius does not use *celeriter*, except in the superlative form *celerrime*, which appears only once.

³ All these suggested equivalent adverbs are actually used by Eugippius in the *Vita Severini*.

itaque; *sine dilatione* (24, 2), *sine cunctatione* (24, 1), *sine ulla mora* (45, 1), *nec mora* (23, 1), *e vestigio* (19, 3), for *statim*.

Other adverbial phrases are: *solito more* (19, 1), *de more* (cap. 13; 6, 3), and *ex more* (1, 2 and in ten other sections); *improvida mente* (5, 3); *de cetero* (12, 6); *in crastinum* (41, 1); *per momenta* (42, 3); *omni modo* (43, 9); *per ordinem* (43, 8).

4. USE OF NEGATIVES

haud, *nihil*, *nec*, *non*, *minime*, and *nullatenus*

haud (2)¹ occurs only in the phrase *haud procul*.

nihil (7) is twice used instead of *non* (6, 1 and 28, 3).

nec (25) is most frequent in the double form *nec . . . nec* "neither . . . nor" (6). It is also commonly used in the meaning "and not" and in a number of phrases (*nec non et* (2), *nec mora*, *nec ante*, *nec aliter*, *nec solum . . . sed et*). The longer form *neque* does not occur.

non (75), aside from its usual use, appears instead of *-ne* (1, 5) and *nonne* (12, 2); and *non . . . non* once takes the place of the correlatives *nec . . . nec* (29, 2). With the hortatory subjunctive (5, 2; 18, 2; 43, 5 three times) *non* is regularly used instead of *ne*.

The following phrases occur: *nec non et* (2), *non . . . sed* (3), *non solum . . . verum etiam*, *non tam . . . quam*, *non tantum . . . sed*, *numquid . . . et non potius*.

Instead of *non* Eugippius sometimes uses *minime* (3) and *nullatenus* (see 24, 3; 13, 1; 17, 2; cap. 13; [for *penitus* in negative expressions see I, 6, c]).

5. INTERROGATIVE PARTICLES

The particle *-ne* as the sign of a question occurs once only:

putasne possum invenire hominem (9, 2).

non occurs once in its place:

putas non ipse est (1, 5).

It is also used for *nonne*:

"*non legistis*," ait (12, 2).

¹A single numeral inclosed in parentheses indicates the number of times a word occurs in the *Vita Severini*.

numquid and *num* appear once each, and in the same section (ad Pasch. 4).

utrum twice introduces an indirect question, but is never used with the first member of a double question (4, 2; 16, 2).

an is found once (40, 2).

6. SPECIAL ADVERBS

(a) *ita, sic, tam*

ita (18) is twice used to refer to what has preceded:

ita media hieme patientiae dabat indicium (4, 10).

sancus itaque vir cur ita fleret interrogatus (22, 3).

Six times it refers to what follows:

famulus dei ita respondit (41, 1).

It is also used as a correlative (10) with *ut, tamquam, sicut, and quo*:

ita sunt barbari exterriti, ut (2, 1).

tamquam de domo servitutis ita (43, 5).

sicut constat ita oportet (40, 4).

ut ita cum sibi subiectis ageret quo se cogitaret (40, 2).

sic (8), like *ita*, may refer to what precedes (5):

sic liquor ille gratissimus subtractus est (28, 4).

Twice it refers to what follows:

hanc ergo memoratus sic increpavit (16, 3).

Batavinis dubitantibus sic adiecit (27, 3).

Once it is a correlative with *ut*:

cuncta sic, ut vir dei praedixerat invenit (9, 2).

tam (11) may modify an adjective and refer back to what has preceded (5):

non est virtutis meae praestare tam grandia (6, 2).

Once it modifies an adverb in like manner:

illuc ubi tam impudenter excesserat (22, 5).

As a correlative with *quam* it means "so much," or "as much" (2):

non tam materialibus armis quam orationibus praemuniri (27, 2).

Three times correlative with *ut*:

tam celeberrima flagrabat opinio ut (11, 1).

(b) *solum, tantum*

solum (2) occurs only in connection with other adverbs in a correlative adversative phrase:

non solum aeterna mercede . . . verum etiam commodis . . . praesentibus (18, 2).

nec solum sanitatem corporis sed et mentis (36, 4).

tantum (9) is found once in this same construction. In the meaning "only" (8) it is regularly used instead of *solum*:

curatus est, non tantum daemone sed . . . vanitate (36, 3).

de praesenti tantum salute sollicitus (5, 2).

tantum in nomine domini perge (4, 3).

(*tantum ne*, *tantum non*, and *tantum nec* are found with the subjunctive, 5, 2; 18, 2; 4, 5).

(c) *omnino, penitus*

omnino (2) is used, once with an adjective and once with a participle:

manifestabat hominem omnino Latinum (ad Pasch. 9).

aliis autem . . . omnino negantibus (6, 4).

penitus (7) occurs once in the same sense, without a negative:

cum de vita sua penitus desperarent (29, 2).

Except for this one instance, *penitus* is always used to express a strong negative and means "at all," or "absolutely":

nec ullus ab eo penitus auderet inquirere (ad Pasch. 7).

calciamento nullo penitus utebatur (4, 10).

(d) *potius, magis, plus, amplius*

potius (9), "rather," invariably follows a negative either expressed or implied:

ut tela . . . non eis inferant vulnera, sed arma potius subministrent (4, 4).

magis (11) means "rather" (5) or "the more" (3):

ora magis ut corde plus videas (cap. 35).

etiam hominem saecularem, quanto magis monachos (43, 6).

As correlatives with *quam* (5), *potius* and *magis* are used with no difference of meaning. *Plus . . . quam* does not occur; *amplius . . . quam* is found once:

subveni tibi potius quam pauperibus (3, 2).

fide magis quam gressibus (29, 2).

quis credat amplius eos . . . quam eos (11, 5).

In general *amplius* is used in a distinctly quantitative sense:

viginti et amplius (24, 1; see also 12, 2; 41, 1).

(e) *Temporal adverbs*

iam (14) is found usually in connection with a participle or an adjective, with the past, present, or future connotation:

de quo iam . . . praecipis (ad Pasch. 3).

exsequiis iam paratis (14, 1).

iam videbitis amodo fluvium . . . prohibitum (15, 2).

But it is sometimes merely transitional:

iam utique non expecto (ad Pasch. 3).

nunc (8) usually means "now." But it occurs once with the future indicative, meaning "soon" or "straightway," and is once merely transitional in force:

vade, vilissimus nunc pellibus coopertus (7, 1).

nunc ex hostibus armabuntur (4, 3).

nunc ergo, rex optime (31, 5).

inde is not used with temporal force.

deinceps is once used for *deinde*:

quod signum deinceps aqua penitus non excedebat (cap. 15).

But *deinde* is found also (see 4, 6; 25, 1; 40, 1; 44, 6).

dudum (2) is used in connection with a relative pronoun and refers to what has happened very shortly before:

senex qui dudum . . . tanti hospitis susceptor exstiterat (1, 5).

quae magno dudum miraculo . . . conspeximus (12, 1).

mox (25) is usually to be translated "presently" or "thereafter." Sometimes it is used in connection with a conjunction (*igitur* [3], *itaque* [2], *enim*, *tamen*) in which case it usually stands first in its clause:

cadaver . . . mox . . . aperuit oculos (cap. 16).

egressus mox a barbaris Danuvio transvectus est (10, 1).

mox igitur eo descendente (22, 4).

tunc (39) is always used in the sense of *tum*.¹ It is especially common (29) as the introductory word in a sentence, and is sometimes directly followed by another adverb:

spiritualium qui aderant tunc virorum (13, 2).

tunc ergo . . . protinus exclamantes (11, 4).

quo (14) is used six times in a temporal sense, while *ubi* invariably means "where."

tempore quo Attila . . . defunctus est (1, 1).

Eugippius uses no less than twelve different adverbs to denote immediate action. The favorite words are *protinus* (16) and *statim* (13). The colloquial form *ilico* (4) is also found:

receperunt protinus sanitatem (46, 3).

tunc . . . statim incolumis . . . surrexit (33, 2).

fusis ad deum precibus ilico sanavit infirmum (6, 3).

The other expressions used are: *confestim*, *continuo*, *instante*, *instantius*, *nec mora*, *e vestigio*, *sine ulla mora*, *sine cunctatione*, *sine dilatione*.

II. USE OF CONNECTIVES

The frequent use of connectives is a marked characteristic of this very literal-minded author. He turns to them and relies on them with almost amusing helplessness. Adverbs and conjunctions alike are thus used to give liveliness and to indicate with particularity the progress of the narrative, setting off with sharpness as separate items the various details which are strung along and joined together to make one historical account. These connectives are used freely and interchangeably. Many adverbs which by his time have lost their original shades of meaning are in fact no longer adverbs in the strict sense, though it is not possible to form an absolute judgment in every instance.

These adverbs and conjunctions, then, can no longer be differentiated and separated as adversative, causal, and conclusive, although in a few cases they do retain their original and exact meaning. In the greater number of instances they are to be roughly grouped together, merely as co-ordinating connectives with little or

¹ *Tum* does not occur in the *Vita Severini*.

no distinction between them. The following examples, each of which is the first phrase of a chapter, serve to show lack of sharp differentiation in Eugippius' use of such words:

- Quidam vero nomine Maurus* (10, 1).
Alio rursus tempore (12, 1).
Accidit etiam (14, 1).
Accidit autem (16, 1).
Talibus igitur muneribus opulentus (17, 1).
Cives quoque ex oppido (18, 1).
Ad habitatores praeterea oppidi (24, 1).
Deinde quidam de Norico (25, 1).
Cives item oppidi Lauriaci (30, 1).
Nonis itaque Ianuariis (43, 1).

The following is a complete list of the various connectives used in 685 instances in the *Vita Severini*: *ac* (19), *at* (10), *atque* (19), *aut* (4), *autem* (10), *deinde* (4), *enim* (16), *ergo* (22), *et* (178), *etenim* (3), *etiam* (31), *igitur* (33), *itaque* (37), *item* (3), *nam* (9), *namque* (4), *nempe*, *nec* (25), *praeterea* (3), *quapropter* (2), *-que* (69), *quidem* (4), *quippe* (6), *quoque* (23), *rursus* (2), *sed* (33), *seu*, *simul* (3), *siquidem* (3), *tamen* (20), *tunc* (38), *-ve*, *vel* (25), *vero* (18), *verum* (6).

From this enumeration and classification, which covers every instance of adverbial usage in the *Vita Severini*, the following conclusions may be drawn in regard to this striking feature of the style of Eugippius:

1. There is a free interchange of the positive and comparative degrees as equivalents in intensity.
2. Adjectives and phrases are frequently used instead of adverbs.
3. There is a disappearance of the fine distinctions between certain adverbs of similar meaning.
4. The adverb is losing its definite adverbial quality and is often appearing as a mere conjunction.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

THE ASSUMED DURATION OF THE WAR OF THE *ILIAD*

By JOHN A. SCOTT

Professor J. Van Leeuwen (*Mnemosyne*, XXXIV (1906), 193 ff.; XXXVIII, 396 ff.; and republished as part of chap. I in his *Commentationes Homericae*, Leiden, 1911) advanced with convincing arguments and great assurance the theory that the *Iliad* describes not the end of a long war, but a campaign embracing only a single summer. The Greeks, he believes, having ravaged the islands which lay along their course, and having sacked the allied towns in the Troad and adjacent regions, prepared to storm the walled city itself. The Trojans, as soon as they learned of the landing and intended assault, formed an army and advanced to meet the Greeks; the action described in the *Iliad* immediately follows, and in a few weeks the war is at an end.

The purpose of the present investigation is to offer a new study of the *Iliad* with reference to the theory just stated. It must be said in advance that definite chronological references in the *Iliad* are surprisingly few, and that most of the scenes of the poem are as undatable on internal evidence as the soliloquies of Hamlet, or the Sermon on the Mount.

The definite references are practically all confined to the action or speeches just before the preparations for fighting begin. These references are not dragged in, but we learn as if by accident that the army has already been at Troy for many years, and we know that the action which is to follow is the culmination of a long struggle. The artistic effect of giving this definite information just in advance of the fighting is very great.

The only such references are the following: Agamemnon in the speech in which he attempts to arouse his men to action by pretending to discourage them says:

B 134: ἐννέα δὲ βεβᾶσι Διὸς μεγάλου ἐνιαυτοὶ
καὶ δὴ δούρα σέσηπε νεῶν καὶ σπάρτα λέλνεται·

The fact that the war has been a long one and that it would be a shame to have waited so many years and then return home with

their task not yet accomplished is the burden of the speech of Odysseus:

B 295: ἡμῖν δ' εἰνατός ἐστι περιτροπέων ἐνιαυτὸς
ἐνθάδε μμνόντεσσι.

also his arguments in the same speech based on the omen of the bird and her young destroyed by the serpent:

B 313: ὀκτώ, ἀτὰρ μήτηρ ἐνάτη ἦν, ἣ τέκε τέκνα [repeated in 326].
327: ὥς ἡμεῖς τοσσαῦτ' ἔτεα πτολεμίζομεν αὖθι,
τῷ δεκάτῳ δὲ πόλιν αἰρήσομεν εὐρύγυιαν.

No other definite reference is found until in the twelfth book:

M 15: πέρθετο δὲ Πριάμοιο πόλις δεκάτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ.

While this reference does not assign the events of the *Iliad* to any particular year, yet the inference from the preceding verses is that the fall of Troy followed close upon the anger of Achilles and the death of Hector. The only other definite date is found in the lament of Helen, as she weeps beside the dead body of Hector:

Ω 765: ἤδη γὰρ νῦν μοι τόδ' ἑικοστὸν ἔτος ἐστίν,
ἐξ οὗ κῆθεν ἔβην καὶ ἐμῆς ἀπελήλυθα πάτρης.

These words assume a lapse of ten years before the Greeks finally reached Troy to engage the Trojans, and Hector's death in the tenth year of that war; hence, of course, the action of the *Iliad* belongs to that tenth year. Of these four definite references three are in speeches and one is by the poet himself. These exact indications of the duration of the war present no difficulty to Van Leeuwen, since he simply rejects each as being in conflict with his theory, and therefore out of harmony with the *Iliad*.

There are no better attested verses in Homer than the references to the long war in the speeches of Agamemnon and Odysseus. They created no impression in ancient times that they contradicted the rest of the poem. Such a theory presupposes that the *Iliad* was in the keeping of men who had complete control of the text so that they were able to change it at will. Unless there was such absolute control, how was it possible to effect the adoption of additions or mutilations which were out of keeping with the whole? If the *Iliad* teaches that the events all belong to a single summer, how, in the face of this teaching, did the other tradition become so powerful?

When once the *Iliad* became generally known, such interpolations would have been impossible; hence the two traditions must have been practical contemporaries. Why was the tradition of the one summer's war so strong that it could form the background of the *Iliad*, and then immediately so weak that it must yield to the tradition of the ten years' war? How in the face of the *Iliad* did the later tradition arise? The very conception of changing the plan or details of a poem involves the existence of a group of men having that poem in absolute control. Such a group would be more interested in preserving an old tradition than in incorporating a new. A guild which preserved would be inclined to defend the inherited tradition. However these definite statements of time are not the only reasons for assuming that the *Iliad* has for its setting a long-continued war.

The following indefinite references are in harmony with and presuppose such a period of fighting:

- B 13: οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἀμφὶς Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες
ἀθάνατοι φράζονται·
- 115: [Agamemnon says:] ἐπεὶ πολὺν ὤλεσα λαόν·
- 120: μὰν οὐτω τοιόνδε τοσόνδε τε λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν
ἄπρηκτον πόλεμον πολεμίζειν ἤδ' ἐ μάχεσθαι
ἀνδράσι πανροστέροισι, τέλος δ' οὐ πῶ τι πέφανται·
- 161: Ἀργείην Ἑλένην, ἧς εἵνεκα πολλοὶ Ἀχαιῶν
ἐν Τροίῃ ἀπόλοντο κτλ·
- 272: ὦ πόποι, ἦ δὴ μυρὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐσθλὰ ἔοργε
βουλὰς τ' ἐξάρχων ἀγαθὰς πόλεμόν τε κορύσσειν·
- 344: Ἀτρεΐδην, σὺ δ' ἔθ' ὥς πρὶν ἔχων ἀστεμφέα βουλὴν
ἄρχειν Ἀργείοισι κατὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνους·

Not only the definite but the vague references to the long war abound in this book, and the hearer is so thoroughly impressed with this idea that he hardly feels the incongruity of the scenes which immediately follow.

Further vague references to a long struggle are:

- Γ 99: [Words of Menelaus:] ἐπεὶ κακὰ πολλὰ πέποισθε
εἵνεκ' ἐμῆς ἱριδος καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἕνεκ' ἀρχῆς·

When Helen is first seen she is at work with her needle:

Γ 125: τὴν δ' εὖρ' ἐν μεγάρῳ· ἡ δὲ μέγαν ἱστὸν ὕφαινε,
δίπλακα πορφυρέην, πολέας δ' ἐνέπασσεν ἀέθλους
Τρώων θ' ἱπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων,
οὓς ἔθεν εἵνεκ' ἔπασχον ὑπ' Ἄρῃος παλαμάνων·

Γ 132: οἱ πρὶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι φέρον πολυῖδακρυν Ἄρῃα
οἱ δὲ νῦν αὐταὶ σιγῇ - πόλεμος δὲ πέπανται -

The words spoken by the Trojan elders, when Helen approached, give the impression that there has already been much fighting:

Γ 156: οὐ νέμεσις Τρώας καὶ ἐνκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς
τοῖγδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν·

After the fighting has once begun the chronological references are few and vague, since each act is represented as taking place for the first time. To refer to an act as habitual, well-known, or customary would rob the poet of the chance to describe it.

Unless the war has lasted long, these following verses would be without meaning:

Ε 788: ὄφρα μὲν ἐς πόλεμον πωλέσκετο διὸς Ἀχιλλεύς,
οἷδέ ποτε Τρῶες πρὸ πυλάων Δαρδανιάων
ἀχνησκον· [Words of Stentor-Hera.]

A similar implication is found in the words spoken to Glaucus:

Ζ 123: τίς δὲ σύ ἐσσι, φέριστε, καταβητῶν ἀνθρώπων;
οὐ μὲν γάρ ποτ' ὅπωπα μάχῃ ἐνὶ κυδιανείρῃ
τὸ πρὶν· [Words of Diomedes.]

Ζ 419: Andromache tells how her father was slain by Achilles, his dead body treated with honor, a mound erected in his memory, and elms encircled this mound: *περὶ δὲ πετελέας ἐφύτευσαν νύμφαι ὄρεστιάδες*. This, of course, implies the lapse of several years. She tells also how her mother was carried away with the spoils, ransomed by her own father, and died a sudden and painless death in his palace. The manner in which this is told implies that her mother has long been dead and that she is not telling the story of a recent sorrow. When Paris overtakes Hector as he is returning to battle, Hector says:

Ζ 521: δαίμόν', οὐκ ἂν τίς τοι ἀνὴρ, ὃς ἐναΐσιμος εἴη,
ἔργον ἀτιμῆσαι μάχης, ἐπεὶ ἀλκιμὸς ἐσσι·

If this is the first day's fighting of the war, Paris has had little opportunity to show his bravery.

When Menelaus offers to accept the challenge of Hector, Agamemnon tries to dissuade him from this seeming rash attempt:

- H 113: μηδ' ἔθελ' ἐξ ἔριδος σεῦ ἀμείνονι φωτὶ μάχεσθαι,
 Ἑκτορι Πριαμίδῃ, τόν τε στυγέουσι καὶ ἄλλοι·
 καὶ δ' Ἀχιλεὺς τούτῳ γε μάχῃ ἐνὶ κυδιανείρῃ
 ἔρριγ' ἀντιβολῆσαι.

Odysseus tries to stir the ambition of Achilles by telling him:

- I 304: νῦν γάρ χ' Ἑκτορ' ἔλθεις, ἐπεὶ ἂν μάλα τοι σχεδὸν ἔλθοι,

to whom the disillusioned Achilles replies:

- I 316: ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρα τις χάρις ἦεν
 μάρνασθαι δηϊούσιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσι νωλεμέσ αἰεὶ·

 348: ἦ μὲν δὴ μάλα πολλὰ ποιήσαιο νόσφιν ἑμέο,
 καὶ δὴ τείχος ἔδευμε καὶ ἤλασε τάφρον ἐπ' αὐτῷ
 εὐρείαν, μεγάλην, ἐν δὲ σκόλοπας κατέπηξεν·
 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς δύναται σθένος Ἑκτορος ἀνδροφόνουιο
 ἴσχειν· ὄφρα δ' ἐγὼ μετ' Ἀχαιοῖσιν πολέμιζον,
 οὐκ ἐθέλεσκε μάχην ἀπὸ τείχεος ὀρνύμεν Ἑκτωρ,
 ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐς Σκαίᾶς τε πύλας καὶ φηγὸν ἵκανεν·
 ἐνθα ποτ' οἶον ἔμμενε, μόγις δέ μευ ἔκφυγεν ὁρμήν·

It was the altered policy of the Trojans that forced the Greeks to build the wall. The fact that Achilles speaks of Hector as "the man slaying," exactly as he did in A 242, shows that this title or reputation must have been won in battles fought before the quarrel described in the first part of the *Iliad*.

- I 401: οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶ ψυχῆς ἀντάξιον οὐδ' ὅσα φασὶν
 Ἴλιον ἐκτῆσθαι, εὐναιόμενον πτολίεθρον,
 τὸ πρὶν ἐπ' εἰρήνης, πρὶν ἔλθεῖν νῆας Ἀχαιῶν·

This depletion of Trojan resources can hardly be explained except on the assumption that the city has undergone a long siege. In N 95 ff. Poseidon tries to arouse the Greeks by contrasting the present aggressive attitude of the Trojans with their former policy of avoiding a struggle.

When Meriones starts for his tent to get fresh arms he meets Idomeneus who says (N 259): "You will find an abundance of spears

here in my tent, spears I have seized from fallen Trojans, for since I joined in the combat there has come to my hand an abundance of arms of every sort." To whom Meriones replies:

N 267: καί τοι ἔμοι παρά τε κλισίῃ καὶ νηὶ μελαίνῃ
 πόλλ' ἔναρα Τρώων·

He adds that his bravery has been seen by Idomeneus on many an occasion. As neither of these warriors has thus far more than fleshed his sword in the action of the *Iliad*, where did they capture all this armor and in what battles did they perform these mighty exploits?

When Polydamas urges the Trojans to return to the city and endure the siege, Hector shows that already they are so impoverished, that their only hope is in driving the invaders out of the Troad; a changed policy is thus obligatory:

Σ 287: ἦ οὐ πῶ κεκόρησθε ἐελμένοι ἐνδοθι πύργων;
 πρὶν μὲν γὰρ Πριάμοιο πόλιν μέροπες ἄνθρωποι
 πάντες μυθέσκοντο πολύχρυσον, πολύχαλκον·
 νῦν δὲ δὴ ἑξαπόλωλε δόμων κειμήλια καλά,
 πολλὰ δὲ δὴ Φρυγίην καὶ Μυρσίην ἐρατανὴν
 κτῆματα περνάμεν' ἵκει.

These verses show that the siege has lasted for many years, since the Trojans have been so long reduced that their wealth has had time to reach distant lands. Priam complains (Ω 257) that the war has deprived him of three mighty sons, Mestor, Troilus, and Hector. Of these three sons Hector is the only one to have any part in the action of the *Iliad*; hence the career of the others must belong to earlier events. All of the above passages must be interpolations, if the theory of Van Leeuwen that the first intimation that came to the Trojans of the landing of the Greeks is found in the speech of Iris who assumed the form of Polites (B 796 ff.), and if the first struggle of the two peoples followed the duel between Paris and Menelaus.

By accepting all references as genuine and original and combining them with the evidence from commerce and geography, as presented by Doctor Leaf in his *Troy, A Study in Homeric Geography*, we may safely assume the following background for the *Iliad*.

The Greeks in large numbers and well-prepared came to attack Troy, but the Trojans strongly protected by the great walls of their citadel refused to meet the Greeks in the open field and contented themselves with occasional sallies on the camp or on scattered divisions of the enemy. Supplies came steadily into the besieged city, and the Greeks seemed unable to capture it by storm or to reduce it by starvation. Such sieges could be indefinitely prolonged as Herodotus tells—(ii. 157) that the city of Azotus withstood for twenty-nine years the siege made by the armies of Psammetichus; while the resistance of Plataea in the Peloponnesian War shows the great difficulties encountered in capturing a walled city.

After several years of waste labor the Greeks see that Troy cannot be taken so long as she has open communication with her sources of food on the mainland, hence the determination to cut this communication, and "The Great Foray" in which Briseis and Chryseis find their place in the spoils of war. The Greeks are already in control of the sea, and now that they have been able to intercept or threaten supplies coming by land Troy must fight or fall, and thus for the first time she summons her allies. Inasmuch as the ability to withstand the siege depended on the presence of supplies, it was to the interest of the beleaguered city to have as few as possible to feed. Had she summoned her allies, while she still pursued the defensive policy, she would have hastened her own ruin and would have done for herself the very thing Lysander did for Athens after the victory at Aegospotami.

This forced assumption of the offensive after the success of the Greek raid takes all the force out of the chief argument used by Van Leeuwen in support of his theory, namely, the fact that so many of the allies of Troy have just come or are still coming to the scene of action. Sarpedon speaks of his "baby boy" back in Lycia E 688; Asteropaeus and his Paeonian warriors have been at Troy but eleven days in Φ 156; hence must have arrived during the time in which the events of the *Iliad* fall. Rhesus and his followers come when the action of the *Iliad* is almost half over. These are enough to show that Trojan allies are rushing to the help of the invested city. A long list could be made of those warriors who have newly arrived to join in the struggle.

The exhausted resources of the Trojans and the resulting presence of their allies caused a complete change in the plan of the war:

N 105: ὥς Τρῶες τὸ πρὶν γε μένος καὶ χεῖρας Ἀχαιῶν
 μέμνουν οὐκ ἐθέλεσκον ἐναντίον, οὐδ' ἥβαιόν·
 νῦν δὲ ἐκὰς πόλιος κοίλης ἐπὶ νηυσὶ μάχονται·

The Greeks are no longer the attacking but the attacked. The real cause of this change is the success of the Greek efforts in forcing the Trojans to starvation, but the poet hides the true motive under the poetic device of the "Wrath." This is put at the very moment in which the economic causes have forced the Trojans to assume the aggressive. With this changed policy of the Trojans the Greeks must prepare not for attack but for defense; hence the necessity of building the wall and digging the great ditch. The wall would have been an absurdity during the earlier stages or years of the war, but now with the Trojans desperate and reinforced by allies the position of the Greeks must be intrenched. It is the unexpected prowess of the Trojans, but above all the sudden presence of the allies, which crushed the spirit of Agamemnon. After the siege has been pressed for ten years he finds the Trojans suddenly strengthened. This unanticipated accession of allied forces explains his words of disappointment:

B 130: ἀλλ' ἐπικούροι
 πολλῶν ἐκ πολίων ἐγγέσπαλοι ἄνδρες ἔασιν,
 οἳ με μέγα πλάζουσι καὶ οὐκ εἰῶσ' ἐθέλοντα
 Ἴλιον ἐκέρσαι εὐναιόμενον πτολίεθρον·

Just when he thought the siege had ruined the power of Troy and that the Trojans were his only antagonists, he finds his hopes baffled by the arrival of allies. Immediately the whole aspect of the war is changed; the Greeks who previously thought only of the ruin of the Trojans must now provide for their own safety; a wall was built (H 436), pickets were posted (I 81), spies were sent out (K 205), and military tactics are described, as if it were indeed the beginning of the war. That the "Wrath," the assumed poetic reason for the Trojan change from defensive warfare, was not the actual reason is shown by such passages as the following: "The Trojans fought compelled by hard need" (Θ 57, *χραιοῖ ἀναγκαίῃ*); Achilles speaks (I 420) of the wealth possessed by Troy before the war began; Hector especially

bases his offensive campaign on the straits to which Troy has been reduced by the long siege (Σ 286 ff.). These verses have been quoted above. A similar reference to the poverty thus caused is found in the words spoken by Achilles:

Ω 543: καὶ σέ, γέρον, τὸ πρὶν μὲν ἀκούομεν ὄλβιον εἶναι.
 ὅσσον Λέσβος ἄνω, Μάκαρος ἔδος, ἐντὸς ἔργει
 καὶ Φρυγίῃ καθύπερθε καὶ Ἑλλάσποντος ἀπείρων,
 τῶν σε, γέρον, πλούτῳ τε καὶ νιάσῃ φασὶ κεκάσθαι.

Van Leeuwen lays especial stress on the fact that the actors of the *Iliad* have not aged since their arrival at Troy; his two most emphasized examples are the following: Hermes, in the form of a young man, came to guide Priam into the presence of Achilles:

Ω 347: βῆ δ' ἰέναι κοῦρψ αἰσυμνητῆρι ἰοικώς,
 πρῶτον ὑπηνήτη, τοῦ περ χαρμειστάτη ἦβη.

Hermes, then, assumed the character of a youth of hardly more than eighteen years. He assures Priam that he is the son of Polyctor and a soldier of Achilles, also that he was selected among seven brothers to follow with the Greeks to Troy. "How," asks Van Leeuwen, "can a soldier who has been nearly ten years in the field give the impression that he is a lad in his early young manhood?" *Ineptus fere mihi ipse videor talia rogans* (*Mnem.*, XXXIV, 202). Even worse is the case of Helen who says of herself that she is now in her twentieth year at Troy (Ω 765). Paris, however, had told her but a few days previously that he had never had stronger passion for her than at that moment (Γ 442 ff.). The veteran Hellenist and critic can never restrain his mirth when he thinks of her years and his passion. *Quis sine risu legat* Ω 765 *collatis* Γ 442-446 (*Mnem.*, XXXIV, 194). These two illustrations show an utter failure to grasp one of the fundamental laws of Homeric poetry, namely, when once an actor is given or supposed to have a definite age or form he maintains each unchanged throughout. Telemachus is introduced in the first book of the *Odyssey* as a young man just reaching his majority, ready and anxious to assume the duties of manhood; but nine years previous to the time assumed as the setting for this first book Odysseus meets his own mother, Anticleia, in his visit to Hades; Telemachus by actual counting is at that time not over twelve years of

age, yet he is just as old as he was when introduced in the early scenes of the poem:

λ 185: Τηλέμαχος τεμένειά νέμεται καὶ δαίτας εἴσας
δαίνονται, ἃς ἐπέοικε δικασπύλον ἄνδρ' ἀλεγύνειν.

In this same scene in Hades, Agamemnon refers to Telemachus as a man among men:

λ 449: ὅς που νῦν γε μετ' ἀνδρῶν ἵζει ἀριθμῷ.

These evident contradictions in the age of Telemachus are no proof of independent authorship or interpolations, but show strict adherence to epic usage.¹ A striking example of chronological inconsistency is furnished by Elpenor, the companion of Odysseus, who, heavy with wine, forgot to go down from the roof on the ladder and so lost his life, and who is spoken of as immature and "very young" (*νεώτατος*, ι 552). Yet he must have been an old and seasoned veteran, since he has seen ten years' service at Troy, as is implied in all parts of the narration of Odysseus, and more than a year has elapsed since the departure of the Greeks.

Hermes appeared to Priam in exactly the same form as he appeared to Odysseus in κ 279. When Hermes came to Priam he came in the form he was wont to assume when appearing to mortals, and when he left he did not assume some other appearance. The poet had no intention of giving the god the form and attributes of the son of Polyctor; his attention was fixed only on describing Hermes.

The poet of the *Odyssey* regards Penelope as the mother of an adult son; the father and husband has been gone for nearly twenty years, hence he has been as long from Penelope as Helen has been at Troy, when she laments for fallen Hector. In the case of Penelope the twenty years cannot be called in question, and she is surrounded by youthful suitors, while in the *Iliad* Paris must have aged along with Helen, yet the passions of the suitors seem like the emotions of Paris:

α 365: πάντες δ' ἡρήσαντο παρὰ λεχέεσσι κλισίῃναι.
σ 212: τῶν δ' αὐτοῦ λύτο γούνατ', ἔρψ δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἐθελχθεν.

¹ Altendorf, *Aesthetischer Kommentar zur Odyssee*, p. 41, has an unusually good discussion of the character of Telemachus in Books one and eleven.

The chronology of the *Iliad* may be wrenched by the excision of a few verses, but no amount of excision in the *Odyssey* can make a young woman out of Penelope, when a grown son stands at her side. If the age of Helen makes the passion of Paris a subject of mirth to Professor Van Leeuwen, what hilarity he must find in the story of Penelope and the suitors!

The poet of the *Odyssey* builds on the chronology of the *Iliad* in determining the years of Nestor. In the *Iliad* he is now ruling in the third generation, in the *Odyssey* the rule of the third generation is completed (A 252; γ 245). Nestor has added to his years, but has grown no older. The repeated references in the *Iliad* to the feebleness of Nestor because of his age presume that the end of his strength if not of his life is near, yet he shows no decline in the story of the *Odyssey*. Nestor is there the wise and intelligent host, he plans the sacrifice, begins the rites with water for the hands, makes use of the ceremonial grains, cooks the meat on spits, pours out the offering of wine, and arranges the journey which Telemachus is about to make to Sparta. The Nestor of the *Iliad* remains unchanged in body and mind.

How does Helen appear in the *Odyssey*? Is the charm all gone? Here she cannot hide her age, since we have seen the marriage of Hermione and Hermione's younger paternal brother, Megapenthes. Hermione's wedding has been long delayed, so that we hardly dare to estimate the years of her mother.

Whom does Helen resemble when she appears in the *Odyssey*, Hecuba or Tithonus?

δ 121: ἐκ δ' Ἑλένη θαλάμοιο θνώδεος ὑφορόφοιο
 ἦλθεν, Ἀρτέμιδι χρυσηλακάτῃ ἐκνύα·

This is the very goddess to whom the maiden, Nausicaa, is likened both by the poet and by Odysseus (§ 102, 150). It never occurred to the poet that she was growing old, or could grow old. Just as she first appears in the *Iliad* hard at work with her needle, so here she comes in as the industrious wife busy with her wool and her spinning. This little trait of industry common to both poems is a neat indication of a single conception and a single author. Helen had not aged; she was still in the poet's vision the youthful beauty whose charms

had brought to Sparta a Trojan prince, and for whose recovery a race dared risk a foreign war. To sit down with paper and pencil for the purpose of auditing her charms by her years is to fail to appreciate the very essence of Homeric poetry. These illustrations are taken from the *Odyssey*, since the few days involved in the action of the *Iliad* give no space for testing the lapse of time. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were recited before the same audience and observed the same poetic proprieties, so we cannot assume that anything which would have been absurd in the *Iliad* would be acceptable in the *Odyssey*.

Many events, such as the muster of the troops, the report of Iris-Polites as to the multitude of the Greeks, the duel between Paris and Menelaus, the *Teichoskopia*, and the advice of Nestor in regard to military tactics, do not strictly belong to the tenth year of a siege, but the poet must give some impression of the appearance of the army, of the tactics to be employed, of the regal bearing of Agamemnon, of the beauty of Helen and her mental attitude regarding her present and former husband,¹ and also the contrast between Paris and Menelaus, but since he did not describe the earlier years of the war he must insert them in the only part he did describe. The change in the character of the war was due to the success of the Greeks in intercepting the Trojan supplies and it was the genius of the poet which substituted the "Wrath" with its personal hero for the impersonal causes which forced the Trojans to assume the offensive.

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¹ Professor Rössner, *Beiträge zur Lösung der homerischen Frage*, Magdeburg, 1913, p. 54, shows that the purpose of the *Teichoskopia* is to picture the mental attitude of Helen when she sees the leaders of the Greeks, and also that the duel is not to settle an issue, but to show us Menelaus and Paris; hence these character-sketches are timeless and are not out of place in the tenth year of the war.

THE FUTURE PERIPHRASTIC IN LATIN

By R. B. STEELE

The development of the form "going to be" in English is an interesting one, and is a good example of grammatical evolution along the lines of least resistance. The difficulties in the use of "shall" and "will" have been solved to some extent by substitution. We do not know that it was inconvenient for the Roman to maintain two different ways of conjugating the future, and one of these with internal change of vowel. However this may have been, the use of the periphrastic gave uniformity of expression, and so far as it went was a distinct gain. But it was serviceable not only for statements concerning the future, but also for the expression of conditions both direct and indirect. It is in this field that its chief syntactical value is shown. But apart from this, the periphrastic indicates something of the extent to which the distant scene occupied each writer, and the differences in frequency of occurrence in different writers must be the principal point to be considered.

In the expression the form of *sum* gives the fact of existence at a certain time, and the participle the mental or physical inclination or tendency. Just how strong this inclination or tendency may be is a matter of interpretation, and this varies from free inclination to fixed tendency. Sjögren (*Zum Gebrauch des Futurums im Altlateinischen* [Uppsala, 1906], pp. 196 ff.) gives different interpretations of the periphrastic. Postgate (*I. F.*, IV, 258), speaking of the future and the periphrastic, says: "Plautus felt very little difference between them." Morris, on the sentence-question (*A. J. P.*, X, 397; XI, 13 ff.) in Plautus and Terence, makes no distinction between them. Some Germans support the view that the periphrastic sometimes expresses that which must be. Sjögren's conclusion (p. 227) is: "Sie bezeichnet im allgemeinen eine in der Gegenwart bevorstehende, dem Willen oder der Absicht nach vorhandene Handlung"; and (p. 228): "Die im klass. Latein öfters vorkommende Bedeutung des Sollens oder der Bestimmung, Wahrscheinlichkeit u.s.w. ist nicht . . . die ursprüngliche, sondern im Altlateinischen noch im Entstehen

begriffen und zwar m.E. nach Muster von *futurum est*, das im Zusammenhang der Rede dessen Sinn öfters annimmt." This developed force is discussed by Hoppe (*Program*, I, 13-14, Gumbinnen, 1875), and illustrated by examples from Cicero, e.g., *de Div.* ii. 8. 21: "quoquo enim modo nos gesserimus, fiet tamen illud, quod futurum est; was kommen soll, kommt; *quod futurum est* giebt eine Beschaffenheit an, charakterisiert, *fiet* bezeichnet den Eintritt der Handlung in der Zukunft." Similar to this passage are *ad Att.* xi. 18. 1: "sive enim bellum in Italia futurum est (sein soll), sive classibus utetur (sein wird), hic esse me minime convenit; quorum fortasse utrumque erit, alterum certe (wird eintreten); and *ad Att.* xiv. 13. 2: si est bellum civile futurum (sein soll) quod certe erit si (eintreten wird, wenn)."

A discussion of this question dealing with all the data might be as the counseling of those who

. . . . reason'd high
Of providence, foreknowledge, will and fate;
Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute;
And found no end in wandering mazes lost,

for the interpretation is dependent on the attitude assumed toward fate. This is well illustrated in Cicero's *de Divinatione* and *de Fato*. Assuming that "omnia fato fiunt," it follows, *de Div.* i. 55. 125, "nihil est factum, quod non futurum fuerit, eodemque modo nihil est futurum, cuius non causas id ipsum efficientes natura contineat. Ex quo intellegitur . . . id, quod physice dicitur, causa aeterna rerum, cur et ea, quae praeterierunt, facta sint et, quae instant, fiant et, quae sequantur, futura sint." And again (ii. 7. 19): "quamquam dicebas omnia, quae fierent futurave essent, fato contineri." Other conclusions of similar import might be quoted. At the same time the opposite view is also expressed by the periphrastic, e.g., *de Div.* ii. 6. 15: "potestne igitur earum rerum, quae nihil habent rationis, quare futurae sint, esse ulla praesensio"; and again (17): "qui potest provideri quicquam futurum esse, quod neque causam habet ullam neque notam, cur futurum sit."

Cicero and his correspondents, freed from all philosophical preconceptions, continually speak of the future as if the power of choice were left to themselves. And this is true whatever may be the person

of the verb: *ad Att.* iv. 16. 7: "certum non habeo, ubi sis aut ubi futurus sis"; ix. 1. 2: "quaero . . . quid acturi sint, iturine ad Pompeium et, si sunt, qua quondove ituri sint." This sense of freedom is especially indicated by the past tenses, as in v. 20. 9: "Deiotarus ad me venturus erat"; vi. 8. 4: "tranquillitates aucupaturi eramus." In these the actions appear untinged by any idea of necessity inhering in "shall." And in general it may be said that the periphrastic action is free from constraint, as *est* or *fuit* according to the point of view terminates each *futurus est*, that is, *futurus est*. . . . *est*, and in the future view *futurus est* there is no more necessity than there is in the realization *est*.

The noticeable extension in the use of the future participle (*A. J. P.*, XIX, 275) indicates that the force of the participle combined with *sum* was extended to the independent relation. If it is logical to assume that the origin of *venturus* expressing design was in the preceding *venturus est*, then the periphrastic expressed the free inclination of the actor posited, theoretically, in any temporal plane, but practically, at first, judging by Plautus and Terence, confined to the present. This inclination varies from that of mere being, expressed by *futurus est*, to different forms of activity which, interpreted from the mental standpoint of the actors, may be held to be anything from a passing fancy to a dogged determination. In the same way *futurum est*, which in itself is colorless, indicating merely the unconditioned forthcoming, may, incorrectly we think, be interpreted as determined futurity.

There are frequent illustrations of the fact that the boundary line between *est* and *erit* is not always clearly kept in view. But in the temporalization of the inclination by the periphrastic the periods of time are kept distinct. *Est* may enter the sphere of *erit*, but *venturus est*, *erat*, or *fuit* keeps true to the time of the form of *sum* used, and the last two lie outside of the sphere of *veniet*. The pluperfect so noticeable in the *de civ. Dei* of Augustine is, if possible, still further removed.

I. POETRY

The comedies of Plautus and Terence furnish a fine field for study, though they give little that is striking in the use of the tenses. By far the larger part of the occurrences are in the present as we should

expect in the words of men talking chiefly about the affairs of the present. Sjögren (pp. 196 ff.) discusses the periphrastic in Plautus and Terence, and (p. 227) gives the number of occurrences for Plautus, 120 in the indicative and 16 in the subjunctive, and for Terence, 30 and 6 respectively. Postgate (*I. F.*, IV, 257) gives for Plautus 101 and 27. While the present indicative is generally found, there are some interesting exceptions: Plaut. *Cist.* 152: "quod si tacuisset, tamen | ego eram dicturus, deus qui planius." The perfect is found *Asin.* 621; *Most.* 437; and Ter. *Heaut.* 816: "audiuisset gaudeo | quam argentum haberes, quod daturus iam fui." More noticeable is the pluperfect, Ter. *And.* 542: "atque ita uti nuptiae | futurae fuerant"; and 587 where Simo repeats negatively a part of his previous statement. In the subjunctive, outside of the present, we find only *Persa* 296: "scis quid hinc porro dicturus fuerim"; and in the imperfect, *Cist.* 243: "quae esset aetatem exactura mecum in matrimonio;" and also Ter. *Heaut.* 569: "metui, quid futurum denique esset."

The Latin poets from Lucretius to Silius Italicus do not for the most part use the periphrastic freely. This is especially true of Lucretius and of the epic poets. There are, it is true, some occurrences, as Lucr. iii. 862: "si forte aegreque futurumst"; iii. 949: "si numquam sis moriturus"; Verg. iii. 154: "quod tibi delato Ortygiam dicturus Apollo est | hic canit"; and Val. Flaccus vii. 534: "o utinam o nullo te sim visura labore." The portrayal is largely descriptive of past events and without statement of their attitude toward the future. However, as we should expect, Lucan in his prose poem shows the most flexibility, generally using the present, but also the perfect, viii. 96: "cur inopia nupsi | si miserum factura fui?" and in the subjunctive ii. 16: "quantis sit cladibus orbi | constatura fides superum."

Satire in its philosophical aspects gives us the reflections of the writers, and does not freely use the periphrastic, though we find Hor. *Sat.* i. 2. 112: "quid latura sibi, quid sit dolitura negatum"; and also Juv. vi. 200: "si . . . non es amaturus"; vi. 567: "an sit victurus adulter"; x. 353: "qualisque futura sit uxor." The freer conversational type comes nearer to comedy, as in Hor. *Sat.* ii. 6. 7: "nec sum facturus"; ii. 6. 56: "an est Italia tellure daturus?"

ii. 8. 65: "eoque | responsura tuo numquam est par fama labori"; and also in the narrative *Sat.* i. 5. 27: "venturus erat"; ii. 3. 261: "rediturus erat."

Martial has in the introduction to Book ii "quid hic porro dicturus es," and "quid si scias cum qua et quam longa epistola negotium fueris habiturus?" but in his epigrams there is only an occasional instance. Two occurrences in the indicative are in temporal clauses and noticeable for the use of the future:

- ii. 5. 9: te duce gaudebit Brutus, tibi Sulla cruentus
 imperium tradet, cum positurus erit;
xiv. 181: Clamabat tumidis audax Laeandros in undis:
 "mergite me fluctus cum rediturus ero."

Two conditional statements are also noticeable:

- xi. 91. 9: si tam praecipiti fuerant ventura volatu,
 debuerant alia fata venire via;
v. 34. 5: inpletura fuit sextae modo frigora brumae,
 vixisset totidem ni minus illa dies.

There are about one hundred occurrences in the works of Ovid, most of them in the indicative, usually present or imperfect tense. The former is in the words of the supposed story-teller, as in *Met.* ix. 530: "quam, nisi tu dederis, non est habitura salutem"; or in descriptions by Ovid, as in *Am.* i. 15. 23:

carmina sublimis tunc sunt peritura Lucreti,
exitio terras cum dabit una dies.

The imperfect sometimes expresses a contemplated action, e.g., *Her.* ii. 36: "per quod saepe ieras, per quod iturus eras." Not unfrequently an interrupted or prevented action is given by the imperfect. As this is characteristic of Ovid, we shall quote several illustrations: *Ep.* xvii. 11: "adscensurus eram, nisi quod"; *A. A.* i. 755: "finiturus eram, sed"; *Met.* i. 253: "iamque erat in totas sparsurus fulmina terras | sed timuit"; iii. 201: "dicturus erat, vox nulla secuta est"; v. 198: "incursurus erat tenuit vestigia tellus"; vi. 214: "adiectura preces erat . . . 'desine'"; *F.* iii. 215:

Iam steterant acies ferro mortique paratae,
iam lituus pugnae signa daturus erat:
cum raptae veniunt inter patresque virosque;

iii. 806: et iamiam flammis exta daturus erat;
Iupiter alitibus rapere imperat;

iii. 697: praeteriturus eram gladios in principe fixos
cum sic a castis Vesta locuta focis.

The imperfect is rather freely used in the apodosis of conditions, and the perfect less freely, and both can be illustrated by *Am.* ii. 14.

9-18: Si mos antiquis placuisset matribus idem,
gens hominum vitio deperitura fuit

Ilia si tumido geminos in ventre necasset,
casurus dominae conditor urbis erat;

Si Venus Aenean gravida temerasset in alvo,
Caesaribus tellus orba futura fuit.

The pluperfect is found, if we mistake not, but three times in the *Met.*, ii. 504; ix. 513; and [xiv. 72]. The future was noticed only in *A. A.* ii. 287 and ii. 349.

The subjunctive does not present much that is of interest, as there is little occasion for its use in a narrative that is generally direct. The present occurs a few times, the imperfect, *Met.* iii. 347; the perfect in connection with some conditions, *Am.* ii. 14. 21: "cum fuerim melius periturus amando"; and the pluperfect, *Ep.* xvi. 91: "his ego blanditiis, si peccatura fuisset | flecterer."

II. PROSE WORKS

The other works examined embrace the larger part of the prose to the time of Suetonius, and will be presented in two divisions, the first including the writings of Cicero together with those of the Senecas, Quintilian, and Pliny the Younger; the second, Livy and the other historians. The main features can be seen from the following table which gives a fairly correct statistical view, the figures for Cicero being taken from two programs by F. Hoppe, I, Gumbinnen, 1875 (25 pp.); and II, 1879 (19 pp.), in which is presented the usage of Cicero and his correspondents, and of the *Auctor ad Herennium*.

As shown by table below, the subjunctive is the prevailing mood, excepting in the Seneca group, and is emphasized most of all by Cicero. In the matter of tenses the present, both indicative and subjunctive, occurs most freely in the rhetorical division; the imperfect, in the historical. The perfect and future are most noticeable in the Seneca group, while the pluperfect is sporadic.

	Pres.	Perf.	Imp.	Plup.	Fut.	Ind.	Pres.	Perf.	Imp.	Plup.	Subj.	Total
Cicero	217	16	60	1	9	303	398	20	156	5	579	882
Seneca <i>et al</i>	313	28	59	3	18	421	165	35	60	3	263	684
Livy	69	9	70	4	2	154	51	35	135	5	226	380
Caesar <i>et al</i>	40	5	45	1	..	91	23	15	93	3	134	225
	639	58	234	9	29	969	637	105	444	16	1,202	2,171

Considered as a whole the occurrence of the periphrastic in the apodosis of conditional sentences is the most noticeable feature. As the participle is always prospective, the future periphrastic gives the personal inclination, whatever may be the basis assumed. The rhetorical and the historical attitudes are not always the same, and for that reason the usage is diversified in the different authors, and what may be prominent in one is unemphasized in others. The periphrastic frequently occurs in relative clauses also, the participle giving a characterizing tendency of the subject, e.g., Livy xxii. 39. 10: "ratio, quae fuit, futura, donec res eadem manebunt, immutabilis est." Other clauses of time, cause, etc., occur less frequently, and in this respect the periphrastic is not differentiated from the regular indicative.

A. INDICATIVE

1. *Present.*—The present is occasionally used to give the intention of the writer in regard to the subject-matter of his book: Sall. *Jug.* v. 1: "bellum scripturus sum"; Hirtius *B. G.* Praef. 8: "dicturi sumus"; Val. Max. 1, Praef.: "dicturus sum"; iii. 2. 12; iii. 2. 21; viii. 2. 2: "relaturus sum"; cf. ix. 13. 2: "referam nunc"; Tac. *H.* v. 2. 1: "tradituri sumus"; Just. xlv. 1. 1: "Hispania sicuti Europae terminos claudit, ita et huius operis finis futura est." There are also a few occurrences of the first person in the speeches recorded or invented, but most of the events are viewed from the standpoint of an objective narrator. There are forty instances in Cicero in

conditional statements, and the usage for Livy is about the same; see Steele, *Conditional Statements in Livy*, p. 6. The speeches introduced by Curtius enabled him to use the present with considerable freedom, and about one-half are with the relative; but with the exception of vii. 8. 13: "si humanum genus omne superaveris, cum silvis . . . gesturus es bellum?" the present is not used in dependent clauses.

2. *Perfect*.—Cicero uses the perfect for the most part in relative and interrogative statements, and in the protasis of a condition: *ad Att.* xiii. 27. 1; *Marcell.* viii. 26; *de Div.* ii. 8. 20. Of the writers in the Seneca group, Quint. Decl. uses the perfect most freely, and with about the same associations as in Cicero. In contrast with these Livy, with the exception of xxviii. 28. 5: "consilia communicastis et arma consociaturi fuistis," has the perfect only in conditional sentences or their equivalents, as in xxi. 4. 4: "deditos ultimis cruciatibus adfecturi fuerunt"; and xl. 14. 11: "quomodo autem trucidato te ipsi evasuri fuerunt?" or with the relative, xl. 10. 2: "qui occisurus fratrem fuit, habeat . . . qui periturus fuit, habeat." The conditions are usually past unreal of which there are scattering examples in the other historians.

3. *Imperfect*.—Cicero has the imperfect chiefly in the *Epistles*, for in the philosophical and rhetorical works it is confined to *de Div.* i. 15. 26: "conclave illud, ubi erat mansurus, si ire perrexisset." There is a similar example, *Mil.* x. 28, with the imperfect in the protasis, as also in *Mil.* xviii. 47; and *Verr.* iii. 47. 112. In the other writers examined the imperfect is usually found in relative or conditional sentences, though no instance of the latter was noticed in Pliny's *Epistles*. Caesar has in *B. G.* i. 5. 3: "quod secum portaturi"; and in iii. 66. 4: "quod in eo loco plures erat legiones habiturus . . . adiecerat"; cf. *B. G.* viii. 51. 2; *Bell. Al.* xxxv. 3; lvi. 5; and xvi. 1: "omnia erant futura in incerto." A few other illustrations in different kinds of statements will also be given: Vell. Patere. ii. 110. 2: "cum Caesare iuncturae erant, cum arma . . . corripuit"; Curt. vii. 2. 20: "iam venturi erant, cum . . . nuntiaverunt"; Sall. *Jug.* xiv. 3: "quoniam venturus eram, vellem"; Tac. *Agr.* xxxv. 14: "quamquam porrectior acies futura erat."

4. *Pluperfect*.—Cicero has one example, *ad Att.* iv. 17. 4: "senatus hodie fuerat futurus." The other instances are in relative or con-

ditional statements: Pliny *Ep.* v. 16. 7: "quod in gemmas fuerat erogaturus"; Livy x. 11. 4: xxxv. 42. 3; xlv. 27. 7: "quibus imposituri statuas regis Persei fuerant, suis statuis victor destinavit"; xxii. 22. 19: "maior aliquanto Romanorum gratia fuit, quam quanta futura Carthaginiensium fuerat"; Just. xxvii. 1. 8: "quam defensuri fuerant": Quint. *Decl.*, p. 146, 14: "hic si non imperasset, aut occisurus fuerat aut moriturus"; 301, 24: "nihil interest, quod genus iudicii fuerit, si eventus eodem rediturus fuerat."

5. *Future*.—The examples in Cicero are scattered through all his works, as in *ad Fam.* ix. 9. 3: "quod si eris facturus, velim mihi scribas"; *Orat.* i. 52. 223: "apud quos aliquid aget aut erit acturus." Seneca has it the most freely of all the writers, generally in conditions, as in *de Ben.* iii. 13. 1: "tardiores futuros, si periculum . . . adituri erunt et innocentiam sollicitiore habituri loco." Livy has two instances in the terms of a treaty; xxxviii. 38. 2: "gesturus erit," and 8: "illaturus erit."

B. SUBJUNCTIVE

Cicero uses the subjunctive most freely in indirect questions, Hoppe (II, 4) giving the following numbers for the different tenses: present 242; imperfect 64; perfect 8; pluperfect 1. Other occurrences are in relative statements (45), and with a number of particles, as *quin*, *si*, and *ut*. More than a hundred different terms (Hoppe, II, 1) are followed by indirect questions introduced by a large number of interrogative expressions. The usage for the other writers of the division is similar, but in the historians the usual retrospective view makes the imperfect predominant.

1. *Present*.—The present is freely used by Cicero in *quin*-clauses, there are a dozen occurrences in Livy, and occasionally one elsewhere, as in Nepos xxiii. 3. 6: "dubium esse, quin . . . sim futurus"; Caesar *B. G.* i. 17. 4: "neque dubitare quin, si superaverint, sint erepturi." Not unusual are contrasts with other tenses, generally the perfect, as in Sen. *Rhet. Contr.* ii. 3. (11) 16: "non quod peccaverit, sed quod peccaturus sit"; Sen. *Phil. Ep.* liv. 5: "cum illa et praecesserit et secutura sit"; Quint. 7 Prooem. 4: "sed cum infinitae litium formae fuerint futuraeque sint"; Quint. iii. 6. 40: "quaestio enim tractatur rei, an facta sit? an fiat? an futura sit?" Val. Max.

vii. 2. Ext. 2: "quam multi luctus sub his tectis et olim fuerint et hodieque versentur et insequentibus saeculis sint habitaturi"; Just. ii. 15. 2: "tantum incrementi dedisset, quantum sit datura munita civitas." As an illustration of variation in form of statement will be given some occurrences with negative verbs of knowing. Cicero has in *de Orat.* i. 14. 61 and *de Am.* xii. 43: *haud scio an*, but usually *nescio an*, as also Sen. *Rhet. Contr.* i Praef. 13; i. 4. 10; ii. 5. (13) 4; and Sen. *Phil. Ep.* xxv. 2, but in xxix. 2: "non possum scire an." Livy varies slightly iii. 47. 7: "passurine haec isti sint, nescio"; and in the Praef. 1: "facturusne . . . sim, nec satis scio." As between *quasi* and *tamquam* the latter is preferred, as in Cic. *de Inv.* ii. 1. 3; Sen. *de Clem.* i. 1. 4; *Ep.* xxxii. 1; lxi. 2: "t. mors evocatura sit"; and Quint. xii. 9. 7: "t. infra eum sint aut detractura sit materia." *Quasi* was noticed only in Cic. *de Agr.* ii. 18. 47: "*proinde quasi*"; *de Dom.* xii. 31; and also *de Petit. Cons.* ii.

2. *Perfect.*—The perfect is least prominent in Cicero and with the least variation in form of statement, *quin* five times, as also *ad Brut.* i. 11. 1; *cum* and the relative three each, and eight times in conditions. It is especially noticeable in Quint. Decl. of the rhetorical writers, and in Livy of the historians. Indirect questions, *quin*- and *ut*-clauses in indirect apodoses are not infrequent. The few occurrences in the other historians exhibit several forms of statement: Vell. *Paterc.* ii. 85. 6: "dubitesne . . . an"; Curt. vii. 5. 26: "incertum est an"; Tac. *Ann.* iii. 53. 7: "nescio an"; H. ii. 38. 11: "non discessere . . . nedum posituri belli fuerint"; ii. 47. 13: "tamquam perituri pro me nedum posituri belli fuerint"; ii. 47. 13: "tamquam perituri pro me fueritis"; Suet. *Claud.* xxxviii: "quod aliter evasurus perventurusque . . . non fuerit."

3. *Imperfect.*—The imperfect is used far more freely by the historians than by the other writers, 63 per cent in the one, but only 25 per cent in the others. In general, the occurrences represent the same types of clauses as are given by the present, but thrown into the past. Livy has a comparatively large number with relatives having temporal terms as antecedents, e.g., xxvi. 5. 5: "quo tempore adgressurus esset"; xxx. 21. 8: "ille dies futurus esset, quo visuri essent"; xl. 39. 4: "dies . . . qua successor venturus esset"; xxvii. 28. 5: "nocte quae diem illum secutura esset." In the com-

parative conditional statements Cicero has *quasi* in *Verr.* ii. 74. 183; *Cluent.* lxvi. 187; *de Sen.* xxiii. 82, and, co-ordinate with *quasi*, *tamquam* in *Verr.* iv. 22. 49: "neque enim ita se gessit, t. esset rediturus, sed prorsus ita q. . . . esset futurus venturus esset." The other writers of the division favor *tamquam*, while *velut* is the favorite with Livy. Cicero uses *ac si* in *de Fin.* iv. 24. 65; and Livy in xlv. 22. 5, but *quam si*, xlv. 28. 5, which is in Just. xx. 2. 14; Sen. *de Ben.* iv. 31. 2: "non aliter quam si ore excepturus esset."

4. *Pluperfect.*—Instances of the pluperfect are sporadic, Cicero having, *Planc.* xxxvii. 90: "qualis futurus in me fuisset," two occurrences with *cum*, *ad Fam.* xiii. 10. 3; and *Phil.* iii. 9. 24; and in conditions, *Milo* xviii. 48; "si quidem exiturus ad caedem e villa non futurus"; and *de Div.* ii. 8. 21: "etiamsi obtemperasset auspiciis, idem eventurum fuisset." The occurrences in the rhetorical writers are in Sen. *Rhet. Contr.* i. 2. 19; Sen. *Phil. de Ben.* v. 20. 6; Quint. *Decl.*, p. 73, 7. The five instances in Livy are in interrogative clauses (x. 45. 3; xxxviii. 46. 6; xxiii. 39. 2; xxviii. 24. 2; and xxxvi. 5. 6.). Other examples are found Caes. *B. G.* i. 40. 13: "quod in longiorem diem collaturus fuisset, repraesentaturum"; *Vell.* ii. 125. 1: "neque diu latuit aut quid non impetrando passuri fuisset aut quid impetrando profecissemus"; Curt. vi. 8. 10: "nec ceteri dubitabant, quin coniurationis indicium suppressurus non fuisset nisi auctor aut particeps."

III. INFINITIVES

A. FUTURUM ESSE

Hoppe, II, 17, says: "Caesar setzt *esse* zu dem partic. fut. act. nur aus grammatisch-logischen Gründe; das Partic. fut. act. ohne *esse* ersetzt den Infin. fut., das Partic. fut. act. mit *esse* ist der Infin. der Conjugatio periphrastic; *iturum* ist der Infin. von *ibo*, *iturum esse* aber der Infin. von *iturus sum* und *sim*." If the rule given is correct, then it must follow that those writers who use *-urum* without *esse* dealt with the future, not the present subjunctive in *oratio obliqua*, though they may use the periphrastic in their narrative. This is an improbable assumption when we consider the freedom with which the periphrastic is used in conversation and in speeches. The statement does not hold true for late writers for we find the same statement given both ways by different writers, e.g., Orosius i. 21. 4:

"nisi Messena expugnata numquam esse redituros": Just. iii. 4. 1: "non priusquam Messenam expugnassent reversuros"; Orosius ii. 9. 7: "nusquam honestius quam in castris hostium esse perituros"; Just. ii. 11. 13: "nusquam victores honestius quam in castris hostium perituros"; Val. Max. vi. 4. 1: "eum interempturum"; Livy viii. 5. 7: "venturum se esse . . . interempturum," where *esse* does service for both verbs. It does not hold true for Cicero: *ad Att.* xiv. 13. 2: "si Sextus in armis permanebit, quam permansurum esse certo scio"; *de Fato* vi. 12: "Fabius non morietur . . . moriturum . . . esse moriturum;" and it does not hold true for Plautus;

Asin. 607: Ar. nam equidem me iam quantum potest a vita abiudicabo.
611: Ph. cur ergo minitaris mihi te vitam esse amissurum?

Casin. 480: Ly. lepide repperi:
mea uxor vocabit huc eam ad se in nuptias, . . .
ego iussi, et dixit se facturam uxor mea.

552: Al. flagitium hominis, qui dixit mihi
suam uxorem hanc arcessituram esse: ea se eam negat morarier.

771: Par. sed nimium lepide dissimulant, quasi nil sciant
fore huius quod futurumst.

788: Par. fit, quod futurum dixi.

Cf. Ter. *H.T.* 160: salvom adfuturum esse hic confido propediem;
176: et illam simul cum nuntio tibi hic adfuturam hodie scio.

These passages indicate the equivalence of the two forms, just as the equivalence of the future and the periphrastic is indicated by such passages as

Plaut. *Cist.* 507: Al. non remissura's mihi illam.
Me. pro me responses tibi.
Al. Non remittes?
Me. scis iam dudum omnem meam sententiam.

Persa 146: To. hoc, si facturu's, face.
Sa. faciam equidem quae vis.

See also Sjögren, p. 198, 2.

The opinion of Postgate, *I. F.*, IV, 256, is as follows: "We finally dismiss the hypothesis that the future infinitive active is formed from the future participle either with or without the addition of *esse*." And again, p. 257: "We are then left with the *Future Infinitive Active* in *-turum* as the original inheritance of the Latin

language." However, as we are concerned here only with the use of the infinitive, we shall consider not more than the mechanical rule for the transference of the finite forms into the infinitive whether it be periphrastic or not.

Independent of the question of the origin of the form, the frequency of occurrence of *-urum* and *-urum esse* is a matter of some interest. Some of the writers examined, e. g., Nepos, Vell. Patern., Tac., and Suet., avoid the use of *-urum esse*. Others have it only rarely, as Sen. Rhet. Contr. vii. 6. (21) 15: "scivit illam non esse passuram"; Val. Max. iii. 2. 17: "negavit se quicquam vi esse acturum"; Just. xxi. 1. 1: "firmitus futurum esse regnum . . . arbitrantur." Sen. Phil., Quint., and Pliny the Younger use it with a little more freedom—more than a score of examples. In the work of Curtius, and the orations and epistles of Cicero *esse* is found in nearly one-fourth of the examples, in Caesar and Livy in 8.5 per cent. One of the most pronounced differences is in the use of the singular and the plural forms, Livy having 60 per cent in the plural, and Cicero and Curtius 80 per cent in the singular, indicating that Livy had more to do with masses of men, the latter with individuals. There are also some noticeable differences in the arrangement of the participle and *esse*.

Weissenborn, on Livy xxxix. 26. 12, calls attention to the fact that Livy very rarely places *esse* before the participle, citing xl. 41. 8 and xxxv. 49. 5. To these are to be added iii. 47. 7; xxxi. 13. 7; and xxxv. 35. 7—all with the plural, for in the singular Livy steadfastly adheres to the order—*urum esse*. In 80 per cent of the occurrences the infinitive ends a sentence or a clause, and in the remainder it is penultimate, being followed by the principal verb, as in i. 41. 6: "de aliis consulturum se regem esse simulat"; xxvii. 5. 15: "dictatorem dicturum esse aiebat"; xxxiii. 24. 6: "id regem facturum esse dicerent"; xxi. 39. 6: "Gallos praesentem secuturos esse ratus"; xlii. 10. 15: "in provinciam abituros esse denuntiarunt"; and in a few instances by some other expression, as in xxi. 45. 5: "agrum sese daturum esse in Italia." The following exceptions were noticed: ii. 48. 6: "aut mox moturos esse apparebat Sabinos semper infestos"; v. 34. 3; i. 32. 3; xl. 34. 11; and xlv. 35. 9: "plebem urbanam securam esse militum iudicia."

The rule for the orations and epistles of Cicero can be stated: The order is *-urum esse* at the end of a clause, but *esse -urum* when penultimate. Caesar and Curtius follow the same rule. The following table will show the position of the infinitive in the clause for these writers as well as for Livy:

	<i>-urum esse</i>				<i>esse -urum</i>				Total.
	Init.	Medial.	Penult.	Ult.	Init.	Medial.	Penult.	Ult.	
Caesar.....	1	..	1(2)	3	1	..	..	11	17
Cic. <i>Ep. Or.</i>	5	1	68	8	..	2	10	93	187
Curtius.....	..	..	19	..	..	2	1	15	37
Livy.....	2	3	16	87	..	..	2	3	113
	8	4	104	98	1	4	13	122	354

In *Caes. B. G.* iv. 27. 1: "Obsides daturos, quaeque imperasset, facturos [esse] polliciti sunt," the *esse* is bracketed, and in *Cic. Phil.* ii. 32. 80: "aut prohibeturum auspiciis aut id facturum esse, quod fecit," as well as in a few similar passages, the infinitive without *esse* has not been counted.

The arrangement is to meet the demands of sentence cadence, and in this respect, as shown by the table, Cicero and Livy do not agree. The initial position is unusual in all writers, as in *Caesar B. G.* i. 31. 11: "futurum esse paucis annis"; *Cic. ad Att.* x. 8. 8: "utrum factum videam, an futurum esse multo ante viderim." A medial position is still less common: *Cic. de Harusp. Resp.* iv. 7: "statim me esse arrepturum arma iudiciorum atque legum"; *Curt.* iii. 8. 11: "sed non amplius ipsum esse passurum detrectare certamen"; v. 9. 3: "scio me, inquit, sententiam esse dicturum prima specie haudquaquam . . . gratam." When the infinitive is penultimate it is usually, as in Livy, followed by the principal verb, and only occasionally by some other word. While there are general tendencies shown in the position of *esse*, that for any individual passage is indeterminate, as is shown by *ad Fam.* iii. 5. 3: "dixi me esse facturum itaque fecissem, nisi"; iii. 6. 1: "ita me dixi esse facturum"; 2: "dixi ei me facturum esse"; 2: " respondi Clodio me ita esse facturum."

The correspondents of Cicero seem to avoid the use of *esse* with *-urum*, though Plancus has it, *ad Fam.* x. 21. 1: "confidere me bono Lepido esse usurum communique consilio bellum administraturum." Caesar's *Bell. Gall.* and *Bell. Civ.* agree in the use of *esse* with *-urum*, but it does not occur with *-urum* in the *Bell. Af.* The *Bell. Al.* has in xxiv. 1: "bellum esse gesturum," but in xlii. 5: "bellum instauraturum esse credebatur"; and in lxviii. 1: "se cogniturum esse dixit." The *Bell. Hisp.* has *esse -urum*, and with the exception of ix. 1: "non esse commissurum Caesarem," only at the end, xiii. 3; xix. 5; xxix. 6. Quintilian and Pliny the Younger have *esse -urum* ultimate, but *-urum esse* penultimate, while Seneca has both arrangements at the end, as in *Dial.* xii. 1. 4: "te non esse negaturum"; *Ep.* cxvii. 28: "argumentum habeo nondum praesentis futurum esse"; but also *Dial.* xi. 18. 5: "qui negant doliturum esse sapientem"; and more noticeable *Ep.* lix. 14: "illuc venturum esse te speras"; cvi. 11: "quod dictum esse te video"; and cxvii. 8: "speras me dicturum non esse aliud cursum, aliud currere."

Esse is not usually separated from *-urum*, though a negative or the subject is sometimes included, and there is an occasional instance of wider separation, as in Ter. *And.* 976: "facturum quae voles scio esse"; Cic. *ad Att.* iv. 16. 7: "iturum te in Asiam esse putas." Still wider separation is found in Livy, e.g., xxvii. 39. 2: "armata coniunctura se transgresso in Italiam esse"; and in general the freedom shown by him in separating the parts of the infinitive corresponds to that shown in separating the parts of the ablative absolute; see *A. J. P.*, XXIII, 306 ff.

B. FUTURUM FUISSE

Futurum fuisse seems to have been too abstract a combination for the simple logic of the actors in Plautus and Terence, but occurrences are fairly common elsewhere. Terrell (*A. J. P.*, XXV, 71 ff.) cites nearly two hundred examples. Most are in the apodoses of conditional sentences indirectly stated, as in Livy iv. 2. 9: "si divinassent . . . subituros fuisse"; xxvii. 1. 14: "Herdoniam quia et defecturam fuisse ad Romanos comperit, nec mansuram in fide, si inde abcessisset"; xxxiii. 44. 7: "nisi avertisset vana spes . . . mox bello Graeciam arsuram fuisse." With these may be

compared Just. xxix. 3. 2: "sed omnia illa fuisse existimatos, si ea . . . extra terram illam se effuderit." Instances in other connections are comparatively infrequent, as in Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 14. 2: "de quo mihi exploratum est illum non modo non facturum, sed etiam ne passurum quidem fuisse." An example is found in Sen. *Ep.* li. 12: "habitaturum tu putas umquam fuisse in mica Catonem"; and occurrences are fairly common in Quintilian. Livy has a few instances, e.g., xxxvi. 13. 8: "respondit vel Romanis vel Thessalis se crediturum fuisse"; as also Curt. v. 12. 1; and vi. 9. 28: "neminem . . . fuisse rediturum"; cf. Suet. *Jul.* 56: "existimat rescripturum et correcturum fuisse."

The nominative rarely occurs, as in Cic. *ad Att.* vii. 14. 2: "erup-tionem facturi fuisse dicebantur"; *ad Brut.* i. 6. 2: "[Brutus] quem ne utilitas quidem impulsura fuisse ad facinus"; *Lig.* viii. 24: "facturus fuisse videatur"; Livy xxvi. 23. 2: "conlegam absentem daturus fuisse videbatur populus"; xxxviii. 50. 1: "dimittitur senatus in ea opinione, ut negaturus triumphum fuisse videretur"; xxxix. 40. 4: "fortunam sibi ipse facturus fuisse videretur."

Of some interest from a rhetorical standpoint are the following features: (1) the use of an equivalent for the protasis; (2) the omission of *fuisse*; (3) the use of *fuisse* alone, though this is not periphrastic.

1. There is an occasional instance in which a participle or a participle does service for the subjunctive with *si*, as in Quint. *Decl.*, p. 66, 6: "alioqui puto non tam levem subituros fuisse poenam"; p. 274, 6: "non dico, desitutum alioqui fuisse"; Curt. vi. 8. 10: "auditis, quae ad eum delata erant, non protinus ad regem fuisse cursurum"; Caes. *B. G.* vi. 41. 3: "neque incolumi exercitu Germanos castra oppugnatos fuisse."

2. The omission of *fuisse* is a Tacitean feature, as is shown by Draeger, *Syntax u. Stil*, 36 c. It is omitted in conditional statements, *A.* ii. 31. 10; ii. 73. 12; iv. 18. 8; as also in *H.* ii. 37. 16; *A.* iii. 22. 17; and in the nominative, *A.* i. 33. 7: "credebatur, si rerum potitus foret, libertatem redditurus." However, *fuisse* occurs in *H.* i. 50. 15; *A.* xiv. 29. 8; and xv. 35. 11. Neue (III, 171) quotes Sil. Ital. xvii. 404, and similarly stated Ovid *Met.* viii. 347. Elsewhere the status of the case is dubious: Draeger and Neue cite Livy xxiv. 5. 12, where

Weissenborn-Müller reads "*arsuros fuisse*," and *ad* xxiii. 2. 5 comments on *placitum* "*näml. esse*." Terrell p. 70 quotes Cicero *Quinct.* 92 "*si causa cum causa contenderet, nos nostram perfacile cuivis probaturos statuebamus*"; and *de Div.* i. 11. 19: "*hoc ne statuam quidem dicturam pater aiebat, si loqui posset*." The first of these sentences states Cicero's attitude toward the case, "We held to it that we would easily prove our case to anyone you pleased, if plea clashed with plea"; and the second tells us, "Father used to say that not even a statue could say this, if it could speak," and neither statement is unreal.

3. Draeger (II, 732) quotes a number of instances in which the regular perfect *fuisse* is used instead of *futurum fuisse*, to indicate clearly the form of the direct statement, as in Cic. *Planc.* xxxvi. 88: "*vinci autem improbos a bonis fateor fuisse* [direct: fuit] *praecclarum, si finem tum vincendi viderem*"; and Livy iii. 50. 6: "*sibi vitam filiae sua cariorem fuisset, si liberae vivere licitum fuisset*"; cf. sec. 7: "*futurum fuisset, nisi . . . habuisset*." Similar to these are Caes. *B. G.* i. 14. 2: "*si alicuius iniuriae sibi conscius fuisset, non fuisse difficile cavere*; Nepos xiii. 3. 4: "*proclive fuisse Samum capere, nisi . . . desertus esset*"; Livy iii. 72. 7; xxx. 10. 21: "*haud procul exitio fuisse Romanam classem, ni cessatum a praefectis suarum navium foret et Scipio in tempore subvenisset*," the indicative in the apodosis being a common form of statement with *ni* and the pluperfect subjunctive. Notice also in an implied condition, xxxv. 32. 8: "*optimum fuisse omnibus . . . ait, integris rebus Philippi potuisse intervenire Antiochum*"; and also in a subordinate clause xxxv. 15. 3: "*id specimen sui dederat, ut, si vita longior contigisset, magni iustique regis in eo indolem fuisse appareret*."

IV. SYNTACTICAL FEATURES

Looked at from a syntactical point of view we find the periphrastic in all kinds of clauses, but only two may be presented in detail, the relative and the conditional, to return to phases which have been mentioned before. The relative clauses often indicate some probable trait of character or some attribute, as in Sen. Phil. *de Ben.* ii. 14. 2: "*sic omnia quae nocitura sunt . . . perseverabimus non dare*"; and Curt. vi. 3. 11: "*nihil quod nociturum est medici relinquunt*."

In these the character of *omnia* and of *nihil* may be determined or merely inferred, for physicians in those days would have included water among the things injurious in case of fever. But whether the quality be determined or merely inferred, the clause is characterizing. Occurrences in *oratio obliqua* are the same, e.g., Livy xxvi. 26. 11: "consules bellicosos . . . qui vel in pace tranquilla bellum excitare possent, nedum in bello respirare civitatem forent passuri" these consuls war-exciting in peace, and not allowing (in the future) a breathing spell, the first giving the ascertained qualities for the present, the other the assumed qualities for the future.

The use of the periphrastic in conditions is a much broader question, and has to do with both the direct and the indirect forms of statement. Terence has the periphrastic in a condition, *Hec.* 739: "si facis facturave es." Plautus has several in the direct (Sjögren, p. 211), and indirectly stated *Mil.* 1188: "nisi eat, te soluturum esse navim." He also has the periphrastic in the apodosis of an unreal condition *Cist.* 152: "quod si tacuisset, tamen | ego eram dicturus," but as Sjögren says (p. 222): "Ein abhängiger *Acc. c. Inf. auf. -urum esse oder -urum fuisse* kommt m. W. nicht vor. Allgemein üblich ist dagegen die der Volkssprache überhaupt geläufige Parataxe." Or in other words, Plautus and Terence give us only the basis for the development of *-urum fuisse* in the apodoses of unreal conditions in *oratio obliqua*.

Although the perfect indicative periphrastic occurs only one-fourth as frequently as the imperfect, there are two-thirds as many occurrences in conditions. One-third of these have the periphrastic in the protasis, and then the apodosis has the perfect, as in Cic. de *Div.* ii. 8. 20; Livy v. 52. 12; Quint. *Decl.*, p. 37, 1; Quint. x. 1. 115: "fecit illi properata mors iniuriam, si quid adiecturus sibi, non si quid detracturus fuit"; or the present indicative, as in Quint. vii. 4. 12: "subiacet . . . si . . . futurum fuit"; or *vide*, as in Cic. *Marcell.* viii. 26; Quint. *Decl.*, p. 54, 11: "nam si [non] fuisti per-severaturus, vide an crimen sit." Only one subjunctive was noticed, Cic. *ad Att.* xiii. 27. 1; "aliter enim fuisset . . . si illum offensuri fuimus." With the imperfect in the protasis, in the apodosis may be used the indicative present, perfect, or imperfect, as in *Verr.* iii. 47. 112: "quam ob rem removebat, si hae tabulae nihil tibi

offuturæ erant"; Sall. *Or. Macri* 11; Livy xxxvii. 36. 4. Notice in a concessive statement *ad Brut.* i. 12. 1: "etsi daturus eram . . . tamen . . . nolui."

When the imperfect or the perfect periphrastic occurs in the apodosis, one-fourth have the imperfect, and three-fourths the pluperfect subjunctive in the protasis. Though Cicero has only the imperfect in the apodosis, yet the usage of other writers shows the fitness of both the imperfect and the perfect for the apodoses of both present and past unreal conditions. These transferred to the indirect became *-urum fuisse* (giving the backward view of the ideal, not realized, expressed by *-urum esse*), and this was taken as the form for all apodoses of unreal conditions in *oratio obliqua*, excepting when the perfect infinitive was retained to show the use of the indicative in the apodosis of the direct statement.

The periphrastic is freely used in connection with the tenses of the regular indicative or subjunctive, one action being stated definitely and the other extending indefinitely into the future, as in Livy xxii. 43. 11: "id cum ipsis castris percommodum fuit, tum salutare praecipue futurum erat"; xxxii. 26. 9: "omnia, quae facta futuraque erant, exposuerunt"; xlii. 41. 4: "quem neque ante videram nec eram postea visurus" xxviii. 28. 5: "consilia communicastis et arma consociaturi fuistis"; Quint. *Decl.*, p. 310, 8: "tibi vixi, tibi moriturus fui." These illustrate common contrasts, but as curiosities in the use of the periphrastic will be given Nepos xvii. 3. 4: "neque dubituros aliud eum facturum"; and with this we may compare Just. xi. 15. 6: "quod apud intellecturum locuturus esset"; and xxii. 6. 2: "crediturum adversum profecturos prodigium esse."

The periphrastic expresses an action immediately about to be, as in Martial iv. 73. 1: "cum extremas duceret horas | et iam per Stygias esset iturus aquas"; and Pliny *Ep.* iii. 16. 8: "nempe enim, inquit, daturi estis consulari viro servulos"; or the time may be that required for the performance of a long work, e.g., Sall. *Jug.* v. 1: "bellum scripturus sum"; Livy Praef. 1: "facturusne operae pretium sim." But the immediateness or the remoteness of the action does not inhere in every verb, but depends on the character of the verb. In Cic. *de Div.* ii. 8. 21: "nihil autem est pro certo futurum," the verb stretches out to the end of time. But the action is usually

connected quite closely with the present, as in Cic. *Verr.* iv. 67. 150: "haec sum interrogaturus: navem populo Romano debeantne?"

Although the periphrastic is well suited for use in conversation, it is not freely used by Appuleius in his *Metamorphoses*, and in Petronius is noticeable only in 45; *habituri sumus; daturus est* (twice). It is freely used in direct address whether given in comedy or in oratory, as in the speech of Scipio, Livy xxviii. 28, with half a dozen occurrences and also in the highest types of prose, so that if it did have its origin in conversation, it was well fitted for all forms of literary expression. As an element in conversation, it may be compared with "am going" in English, or more correctly speaking American. And it may not be out of place to note the point at which the substitution for "shall" and "will" has been the most complete. Taking the *Uncle Remus Tales* as representative, we find that Uncle Remus regularly says "I'm gwinter," the little boy says "am going," and the author uses "shall" and "will."

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NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

NOTE ON ARISTOTLE'S *ETHICS* ii. 3. 5. 1104 b 21

δε' ἡδονὰς δὲ καὶ λύπας φαῦλαι γίνονται, τῷ διώκειν ταύτας καὶ φεύγειν, ἢ ἄς μὴ δέῃ ἢ ὅτε οὐ δέῃ ἢ ὡς οὐ δέῃ ἢ ὅσαχῶς ἄλλως ἐπὶ τοῦ λόγου διορίζεται τὰ τοιαῦτα. κτλ.

In the *Classical Review* for June 1913, pp. 113 ff., Mr. J. Cook Wilson discusses the force of ἐπὶ τοῦ λόγου in the passage, the problem for him being whether λόγος here means "reason," or, as many editors take it, "definition," "rule," "formula." To the interpretation, "definition," or "rule," he rightly objects, after others, that the definition or formula has not yet been given. Accordingly with the aid of many parallel passages he decides that the meaning is Reason, nearly, if not quite, in the sense in which ὁρθὸς λόγος is used frequently throughout the *Ethics*. That λόγος may sometimes be a virtual synonym of ὁρθὸς λόγος needed no proof. But in assuming that to be its meaning here, Mr. Wilson overlooks, I think, another characteristic Aristotelian use of λόγος which is the true key to the passage. Aristotle¹ not infrequently opposes λόγος or κατὰ τὸν λόγον as "a priori" to "a posteriori" reasoning based on the facts, or induction, εἰσαγωγή, or perception, αἰσθησις.

By "a priori" I mean, of course, not metaphysically a priori, but something apparent to logical, verbal, or dialectical inspection, without further investigation of the concrete facts. In many such passages the λόγος in question is the definition, and the a priori method is simply deduction from the definition. These cases we may disregard: cf., for example, *de partibus animalium* 653 b, 22; *pol.* 1326 a, 29.

But in others the thing that is apparent by or through λόγος is a generalization, an alternative, a classification, or indefinite list of categories and distinctions, and that is the case here. Mere a priori logical or dialectical reflection tells us at once that wrong action may be wrong either substantively in the content of the act or in respect of time (or place or quantity, and so forth), and all the other distinctions which the reasoning faculty suggests to us. The turn of phrase ὅσαχῶς ἄλλως, etc., is in itself, perhaps,

¹ Cf. *de generat. anim.* 760 b, 27; 729 b, 8: κατὰ τε δὴ τὸν λόγον οὕτω φαίνεται καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων; *de part. animal.* 666 a, 18; *de generat. animal.* 740 a, 4; *de generat. et corrupt.* 336 b, 15; *de juven. et senect.* 468 a, 20; *de part. animal.* 646 a, 29; *phys.* 210 b, 8; 262 a, 17; *de part. animal.* 653 b, 22, etc.

a sufficient warning that this is the meaning. For this or something like this is Aristotle's ordinary way of summing up in *παράλειψις* the categories and other obvious and indispensable logical distinctions which he does not care to enumerate in full, cf. *Met.* 1005 b, 19: τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἅμα ὑπάρχειν τε καὶ μὴ ὑπάρχειν ἀδύνατον τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ κατὰ τὸ αὐτό· καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα προσδιορισαίμεθ' ἂν, ἔστω προσδιορισμένα πρὸς τὰς λογικὰς δυσχερείας. *Met.* 1030 a, 18: καὶ γὰρ τὸ τί ἐστὶν ἓνα μὲν τρόπον σημαίνει τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὸ τὸδε τι, ἄλλον δὲ ἕκαστον τῶν κατηγορουμένων, ποσόν, ποιὸν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα; *Met.* 1026 a, 36 ff; *Top.* 146 b, 20; πάλιν ἐπ' ἐνίων εἰ μὴ διώρικε τοῦ πόσου ἢ ποίου ἢ ποῦ ἢ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας διαφοράς, οἷον φιλότιμος ὁ ποίας καὶ ὁ πόσης δρεγόμενος τιμῆς. Observe in the last passage the purely logical connotation of διώρικε. I would not press this argument too hard, for the verb may presumably be used of a concrete ethical decision or determination, though Mr. Wilson gives no example. But that its normal use relates to precise dialectical and logical distinctions is abundantly apparent from *Met.* 1005 b, 29, already quoted, and from *Top.* 130 b, 24, 131 b, 6, 10, 14-15, etc.

The phrase *διορίζεται τὰ τοιαῦτα*, then, refers, not to the separate, concrete judgments of right reason which direct the impulses of the good man right in particular cases, but to the indeterminate list of relevant distinctions apparent to the logical reason. This appears further from the language used by Aristotle himself two lines below, which is in the style of the passages from the *Topics* and evidently implies the logical and definitional point of view: οὐκ εὖ δέ, ὅτι ἀπλῶς λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ὥς δεῖ καὶ ὡς οὐ δεῖ, καὶ ὅτε, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα προστίθεται. It is also implied by the language of the ancient commentators, who speak only of the distinctions and ignore the λόγος altogether, which they could hardly do if they conceived it to be the ὀρθὸς λόγος of instinctively right ethical decisions.

Heliodorus, for example, writes, *paraphras. in Eth. Nicomach.* 1104 b, p. 30, l. 20: ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ τῆς λύπης αἱ φαῦλαι γίνονται ἕξεις, δηλαδὴ τοῦ δάωκεν τὴν ἡδονὴν ὥσπερ οὐ δεῖ, καὶ ὅτε οὐ δεῖ, καὶ πάλιν φεύγειν τὴν λύπην ὅτε οὐ δεῖ, καὶ ὡς οὐ δεῖ καὶ ὅπον οὐ δεῖ· καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι περιστάσεις πονηρὰν ποιούσι τὴν ζήτησιν τῆς ἡδονῆς ἢ τὴν φυγὴν τῆς λύπης.

The reason here is not, then, the ὀρθὸς λόγος or right reason of ethics, but the dialectical reason that notes categories, distinctions, classifications. It is undoubtedly true that from the metaphysical point of view Aristotle is not always able to keep them apart in the theory of the ethics. But such ultimate metaphysical difficulties would not warrant us in confounding plain, practical distinctions in his ordinary terminology.

It is interesting to observe that while nearly all editors known to me make unnecessary difficulties about the passage, the translations of Williams and Weldon instinctively give the right meaning. Williams renders: "the various forms of error that are logically conceivable."

PAUL SHOREY

TANTAΛΩΘΕΙΣ IN SOPHOCLES' ANTIGONE 134

The usual interpretation of *τантаλωθείς* makes *τантаλώ*, found only here, equivalent either to *τантаτεύω* and *τантаντίζω*, "swing like a balance" (*τάλαντον*), or to *τантаλίζω*, "shake" (*σαλεύω*, Hesychius, and *διασείω*, Anacreon, frg. 78, according to the scholiast on *Antigone* 134, who cites the fragment). Neither of these interpretations is satisfactory. Capaneus does not fall "swung down" (Jebb) like a scale-pan, for the nature of the latter is to descend slowly: *τантаνεύεσθαι* means "to oscillate"; it is the opposite of *ισορροπεῖν* (Plat. *Tim.* 52E). Nor is the rendering "violently shaken," even if the scholiast be right in thus interpreting *τантаντίζεσθαι*, sufficiently strong to describe the effect of the "brandished fire" which hurls Capaneus with a crash to the ground (*ἀντιτύπη δ' ἐπὶ γῇ πέσε*). One of the more recent editors, Ewald Bruhn (1904), declares: "Man wünscht den Begriff 'geschleudert,' doch findet das Wort nur hier und die Etymologie lehrt nichts sicher." I propose to find this meaning, "hurled down," in *τантаλωθείς* by deriving *τантаλώ* from *Τάνταλος*, following the gloss, *τантаλωθείς. ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τοῦ κολαζομένου Ταντάλου* (Wex, *Antigone*, Leipzig, 1831, note on vs. 134), Eustathius, p. 1701, 18, τὸ τοῦ Ταντάλου παθὼν, and the second scholium on the verse under discussion, ἄλλως. . . . ὅτι τῷ Ταντάλῳ ἢ Σείπυλος ἐπικατεστράφη.

To form a word directly from a proper name is not far different from dallying with the etymology of a proper name, and this is common throughout Greek literature beginning with Homer. Sophocles himself is not averse to it (cf. Nestle, *Classical Philology*, V [1910], 135, note 2, to which add *Trach.* 126 f., ὁ πάντα κραινὺν Κρονίδας). Although I find in Sophocles no parallel to *τантаλώ*, the occurrence in Greek of *τантаλίζω*, which has found a place in our modern vocabularies; *ἐκχαρυβδίζω*, Pherecrat. frg. 95; *σινοφιζώ*, Bekk. *Anecd.* 64; *ταρταρίζω*, Plut. *De prim. frig.* 948F, and *ταρταρώ*, schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1185, to mention only a few, is sufficient justification for this derivation. The poet plainly meant that Capaneus was "made a Tantalus of" in his fall. It remains to determine the connotation of the word in this connection.

The assumption that the roots, *τάνταλο* and *τάλαντο*, are identical (first made, apparently, by Erfurdt, and adopted by Liddell and Scott and most British editors), which led to the rendering "swung down," was doubtless due to their similarity of sound (cf. Eustathius, p. 1701, 8 ff. *Ταντάλου τάλαντα . . . ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ὀνόματος φασιν ὁμοιότητος*). The name Tantalus is probably to be derived like Atlas (Wilamowitz, *Heracles*, II², 96) from the stem *τλα* with reduplication as in *Τάρταρος*, and substitution of *ν* for *λ* (cf. *τανθαλίζω* [Hesychius], another form of *τανθαρίζω*; G. Hinrichs, *Philologus*, XLIV [1885], 425, compares Spartan *φίντατος* for *φίλτατος*). Tantalus, like Atlas, supported the heavens, according to the scholiast on Eur. *Orestes* 981 f., and a mountain bore his name (Steph. Byz. 692, 3). He was a

Titan (Wilamowitz, *loc. cit.*, and Mayer, *Giganten und Titanen*, p. 89) whose overthrow was a natural catastrophe personified. It is this violent downfall of Tantalus at the hands of Zeus (Anton. Lib. I. 36) which I believe the poet had in mind when he used the word *τὰνταλωθεῖς*.

This reference to Tantalus in connection with the fate of Capaneus would be most fitting. Tantalus seems to be closely connected with the Theban myth (Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.*, 1906, pp. 1022, 277), and as Sophocles compares the fate of Antigone with that of Niobe, daughter of Tantalus (vs. 824 ff.), so it would be entirely appropriate to mention Tantalus in telling of the fate of the one hero (aside from the two brothers of Antigone) whom he singles out for detailed notice in his description of the fight at the seven gates. The likeness of Capaneus to Tantalus was striking: Capaneus was a *γίγας* among the warriors (Aesch. *Sept.* 424); Tantalus was a Titan. Both incurred the displeasure of Zeus for an act of insolence which consisted, partly at least, in the "vauntings of a proud tongue" (for Tantalus, cf. Eur. *Or.* 10; Eustathius, p. 1700, 57), and both were hurled down by Zeus in the heyday of their glory. It might be added that Euripides, who may have been influenced by the *Antigone* when he wrote the *Phoenissae* (cf. *Phoen.* 543 with *Antig.* 104; 750 with 141; 840 with 999 f., and 1099 with 106), likens the falling Capaneus (*Phoen.* 1185) to Ixion, another sinner against Zeus whose punishment was famous in myth. By the reference to Tantalus, Sophocles gained another illustration of the certain punishment of *ἔβρις*, which, it is to be noted, plays a prominent part in bringing about the punishment of Creon.

That the poet had in mind also the other punishment of Tantalus, mentioned by the Homeric poet (*Od.* xi. 582-92—a later form of the myth, Preller-Robert, *Gr. Myth.*, p. 821) is altogether probable. Capaneus was "made a Tantalus of" not only in being hurled down by Zeus for his "overweening pride" but also in having the satisfaction of his desires snatched away in the moment of their consummation—*βαλβίδων | ἐπ' ἄκρων ἤδη | νίκην ὠρμῶντ' ἀλαλάσαι*. As the fruit and the refreshing waters recede from the grasp and the lips of Tantalus, so the victory is plucked just at the finish of the race (cf. President Wheeler in *Proc. Am. Phil. Assn.*, 35 [1904], p. lxvii), from the grasp of the winning driver of the Argive chariot. This twofold reference in the word *τὰνταλωθεῖς*—an excellent illustration of the richness of connotation for which the diction of Sophocles is famous—may be preserved by translating the verse thus: "With a crash he fell to earth like Tantalus of old"—the aorist denoting the moment before the beginning of the fall as the dative with *ἐνί* indicates the moment after the fall is over. But if this does not render sufficiently the force of the participle we may at least translate *τὰνταλωθεῖς*, "hurled violently down like Tantalus"—a meaning which is in keeping with *ῥῥπτέ*, vs. 131.

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A NOTE ON HERODOTUS i. 66

The Lacedaemonians in their desire to conquer Arcadia consulted the oracle at Delphi. The Pythia in her reply denied their request for Arcadia, but held out hope for Tegea.

Δώσω τοι Τεγέην ποσσικροτον ὀρχήσασθαι
Καὶ καλὸν πεδὶον σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι.

When the reply was brought to Sparta, the Spartans eagerly marched to Tegea, and in their confidence took along fetters in order to enslave or bind the inhabitants. In the battle which followed they were themselves defeated, and as subjects they wore the very shackles which they had brought for the Tegeans. The oracle was vindicated, since they measured the plain, not as masters, but as subjects. The priestess clearly had not foreseen this outcome, since she had turned them from attacking Arcadia as a whole and had encouraged them to attack Tegea.

What did the Pythia have in mind in the phrase *σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι*? There must have been early and powerful Delphic influences in Asia, since no small influence could have led Gyges, the founder of the dynasty ending with Croesus, to send so many and so valuable gifts to Delphi. Even before Gyges these same forces caused Midas of Phrygia to part with his own royal throne from which he delivered his public decrees and to dedicate it to the god at Delphi. The early and continued influence of this oracle was doubtless based on the wide knowledge and information at its command. The success of the Pythia as a guide and adviser for colonists can be explained only on the assumption that Delphic representatives were in remote and widely scattered regions. What the priestess meant by the phrase *σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι* is explained by a similar expression in II Sam. 8:2: "And he [David] smote Moab and measured them with a line, casting them down to the ground, even with two lines he measured to put to death, and with one full line to keep alive." The Septuagint reading is *καὶ διεμέτρησεν αὐτοὺς ἐν σχοινίοις κτλ.*

Evidently the Pythia had received from some source the information about this Asiatic method of treating the conquered, and really intended to predict victory for her favorites, the Spartans. The prediction led them astray, but the ambiguity of the phrase and the fact that the custom was unknown to the Greeks permitted the Pythia to save her reputation.

The priestess must have constantly sought for the unknown as well as for the vague, thus giving an added obscurity to her deliverances.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Untersuchungen über die Natur der griechischen Betonung. Von
HUGO EHRLICH. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1912.
Pp. xi+275. M. 8.

The unparalleled conservatism and transparency of the Greek vowel system has generally been regarded as a result of the musical accent—or, more accurately, of the level stress—of that language. In late years, however, several scholars have assumed rather extensive influence of the Greek accent upon the phonology. Shall we, then, conclude that Greek had after all a fairly strong stress accent from very early times, or shall we take a skeptical attitude toward the utilization of the facts of Greek accent for the explanation of sound changes?

This is the question that Ehrlich has set himself. Although he clearly prefers the second alternative, he goes about the examination of the evidence quite judiciously. He does not even cite the great intrinsic probability that a language with a remarkably conservative vocalism did not have enough stress to affect the phonology at all.

As an example of his method we may consider the treatment of apocope in the first chapter.

A tabulation of all the occurrences in Homer of the prepositions ἀν(ά), κατ(ά), and παρ(ά) not in composition leads to the formulation of this law: a succession of three short vowels, separated by single consonants, is avoided by the suppression of the middle one if that stands at the end of a word. There are only 53 exceptions out of a total of 1,203. The same prepositions in composition with verbs show 88 exceptions to the rule out of a total of 649 occurrences. The greater irregularity here is plausibly explained as due to leveling within the paradigm: κατθέμεν led to κατθήσω, etc. Most of the apocopated forms in noun compounds conform to Ehrlich's law. He admits exceptions in κάμμορος from *κατ-μμορος, ἐπασσύντεροι from *ἐπαν-σύντεροι, ἐπητής and ἐπητής from *ἐπ-ετητ-.

The restriction of the monosyllabic forms to certain rythmical surroundings is usually supposed to indicate that apocope was a matter of tradition with the epic poets and was used only on account of metrical necessity. Hence it was confined to the thesis where short syllables are impossible. Ehrlich finds this explanation inadequate because it does not account for (1) the lack of scansion such as πᾶρὰ Διός - - - (like εἰν ἀγορῇ, ὑπεῖρ ἄλλα), and (2) the rarity of phrases like ἄμ πύργους - - | -. He is surely over-

stating his case here: there is no difficulty in supposing that the poets avoided $\pi\bar{\alpha}\rho$ where they could, but nevertheless preferred it to $*\pi\bar{\alpha}\rho\acute{\alpha}$, and the phrase $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha \pi\acute{\upsilon}\rho\gamma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ can be got into the verse by merely putting the preposition in the arsis. Ehrlich's other objection to the appeal to metrical necessity has more weight. Apocopated $\pi\alpha\rho$ and $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ were perfectly good Ionic forms ($\pi\alpha\rho$, *SGDI* 5434, 9, etc.; $\acute{\alpha}\nu$, *Hdt.*, Herodas, etc.), and the poets would not have avoided them.

The Homeric exceptions to Ehrlich's rhythmic law are easily accounted for as the earliest extensions of the shortened forms. The full forms have scarcely spread beyond their original sphere. They can, of course, stand before single consonant and short syllable only in case of metrical lengthening (e.g., $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$), and this occurs only three or four times. Of the other dialects, only Aeolic-Thessalian is as near the primitive stage as Homer in respect to apocope. All the others show extensive modifications in its use.

It was analogy which confined the operation of Ehrlich's law almost entirely to a few prepositions; $*\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho$ for $\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ beside $\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$ could not survive in view of $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha$ beside $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha\varsigma$, etc. It is, however, still possible to find a few stereotyped case forms that have lost a final short vowel. Thus $\delta\gamma\kappa\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, "in the arms," is plausibly explained as a locative plural of $\delta\gamma\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$. $\delta\phi\epsilon\rho\alpha$ and $\tau\acute{o}\phi\epsilon\rho\alpha$ may well contain $*\delta\text{-}\phi\iota$ (from $*\delta\text{-}\phi\iota$) and $*\tau\acute{o}\text{-}\phi\iota$, instrumental adverbs. Since the final syllable of the first member of a compound is treated as an absolute final, $\tau\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\nu\pi\omicron\delta\alpha$ must come from $*\tau\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\rho\delta\text{-}\pi\omicron\delta\alpha$. $\phi\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\beta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ from $*\phi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\beta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ is a formation of the type of $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\kappa\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\tau\lambda\omicron\varsigma$. Ehrlich discusses several similar formations.

While one can hardly say that our author has proved his case in regard to apocope, still his theory is decidedly the most attractive one that has yet been presented. It is certainly preferable to J. Schmidt's notion that apocope was a result of proclisis.

A similar verdict must be passed on several sections of the book. But Ehrlich everywhere shows that the accentual theories which he combats are both unsatisfactory and unnecessary. We shall probably hear no more of a stress accent¹ in Greek prior to the fourth century B.C.

Our author, however, credits the evidence which has been adduced to show that the stress accent began during that century (pp. 149 ff.). By far the strongest of this evidence consists of four clip-forms from the dialect of the lowest classes in Athens. The comic poet Amphis ridicules a fish dealer for saying, $\tau\acute{\tau}\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega\upsilon\iota$ $\beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu$ and $\kappa\acute{\tau}\omega$ $\beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu$, and the verb, $\sigma\kappa\omicron\rho\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\theta\alpha\iota$, Dem., presupposes the phrase σ $\kappa\acute{o}\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\varsigma$. We must probably admit that in the fourth century certain individuals at Athens used a stress accent.

Ehrlich attaches more weight to Kretschmer's well-known argument that the confusion of ϵ with η and of \omicron with ω (Ehrlich adds $\epsilon\iota=\acute{\iota}$ with $\acute{\iota}$) in inscriptions and papyri indicates a breaking-down of the distinction

¹ Here and elsewhere, by "stress accent" is to be understood, of course, a fairly strong stress accent, such as might be expected to affect the phonology.

between long and short vowels, and therefore a relatively strong stress accent. The reviewer has shown (*TAPA XLII*, 45 ff.) that the confusion between ϵ and η and between o and ω was really due to the loss of the distinction in quality which had originally led to the use of two characters for the e -sounds and for the o -sounds. It is probable that the occasional use of α for $\tilde{\epsilon}$ is similar to this.

The third piece of evidence for a stress accent in the fourth century is a law which was first pointed out by Kretschmer, *Wochenschr. f. kl. Phil.* 1899, 5, to the effect that an unaccented vowel in the neighborhood of a nasal or a liquid is dropped if the next syllable contains the same vowel. Kretschmer assumes the operation of the law from early times, but Ehrlich finds the first certain instance of it in $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\acute{o}\rho\delta\alpha$ for $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\acute{o}\rho\omicron\delta\alpha$ in Crates of Thebes, who flourished at Athens about 328 B.C. The next example is $\beta\epsilon\rho\nu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\kappa\eta\varsigma$ for $\beta\epsilon\rho\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\kappa\eta\varsigma$ in *Pap. Petr.*² 1. 2. 7 (237 B.C.). There is no doubt about the validity of Kretschmer's law, but we may still hesitate to accept it as evidence for a stress accent. As Ehrlich acutely remarks elsewhere (p. 2): "Nicht einmal ein Lautwandel, der auf unbetonte Silben beschränkt ist, muss in jedem Falle eine Wirkung schwacher Expiration sein." It is clear that we have before us a law of dissimilation rather than of syncope, and who can say, in the present state of our knowledge, whether or not a purely musical accent can determine which of two vowels is to be lost by dissimilation? There is therefore no objection to admitting such of Kretschmer's earlier instances as are plausible in themselves. For example, $\pi\acute{\lambda}\epsilon\theta\rho\omicron\nu$ is more likely to be a younger form of $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\theta\rho\omicron\nu$ than a different ablaut grade. (In this case and in some others one may doubt whether the accent played even a secondary rôle.)

In the fourth place, the author discusses the "weakening" of unaccented α to ϵ in the neighborhood of ρ . The phenomenon appears, from the third century on, in such words as $\epsilon\rho\rho\eta\phi\acute{o}\rho\omicron\iota$ (for $\acute{\alpha}\rho\rho\eta$ -), $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$, $\mu\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$, etc. But among the instances cited are $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\alpha\varsigma$ (five times in Attic inscriptions) and $\acute{\rho}\acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$, where the altered vowel is accented! It is difficult to see why we should suppose that the accent had any connection at all with the change.

There is no convincing evidence for a stress accent in Greek before the Christian era, except in the speech of some very low social stratum at Athens in the fourth century.

Ehrlich treats in detail a number of points which concern his main thesis only indirectly, and these excursions embrace some of the most valuable contributions in the book. We may examine one which is devoted to an important point in Latin grammar.

Our author's elaborate argument in favor of Ebel's hypothesis that the Thessalian genitives in $-\alpha$ are locatives in origin may or may not win general approval. Much more attractive is a theory which he advances in this connection in order to rescue the old identification of the genitive and locative

singular of the Latin *o*-stems (pp. 71 ff.): "Während in der ältesten (lateinischen) Sprache unbetontes *oi* und *ai* gleichwie betontes *ei* sich in *ē* wandelten, wurde unbetontes *ei* zu reinem *ī*." In that case early genitives like *Latini* and *urbani* (*SC. de Bacchanalibus*) and contracted genitives like *Pomponi* in the dramatists are no longer evidence for an original *-ī*. In Celtic also it is possible to trace the genitive ending *-ī* to earlier *-ei*, and the Messapian *-ihi* in the genitive of *io*-stems may represent earlier *-iei*.

Ehrlich is able to point out several incidental advantages of his new theory: we are no longer compelled to assume that Oscan *-eis* in the genitive of the *o*-stems represents a transfer from the *i*-stems; it is the Italic genitive-locative in *-ei* plus *-s* which is the final sound of the genitive singular in all other stems (cf. early Lat. *isti-s*, etc.).

Kent has demonstrated (*AJP* XXXII, 272 ff.¹) that Lucilius' rules for the use of *ei* and *i* are in general accurate, but he felt compelled to admit an error in the line (369 Marx): "hoc illi factum est uni," *tenuē hoc facies i*; for *illi* and *uni* could not be separated from Oscan *altrei*. On Ehrlich's hypothesis Lucilius is right here too.

Another point deserved rather more space than Ehrlich has allotted to it. Although *quoiei*, dative singular of *qui*, does not occur in inscriptions until after the confusion of *ei* and *ī* had become general, it is usually assumed that the original form of the case was really **quoīiei*, with *-ei* which stood in some relation to the ending of the dative singular of *iste*, *unus*, etc. It has, however, been difficult to derive the various historical forms from this (cf. Husband *TAPA* XLI, 22). The theory of Sommer, *Handbuch*, pp. 465 f. (cf. Exon *Hermathena* XII, 218), that *īi* of *quoīiei* dropped before following *-ī*, which then united with the preceding *o* *o* form a diphthong (cf. gen. sing. *Pompēi* from **Pompēīi*), could not be accepted while it was supposed that original unaccented *-ei* was pronounced *-ē* in Plautus' day. Now, however, the difficulty is removed; **quoīiei* regularly became **quoīīi* > **quo-ī* > (Plautine) *quoi*. (So far we have been following Ehrlich.) The spondaic *quoi-i* which occurs several times in Plautus (Neue-Wagener II, 454; Sommer, *Handbuch*, p. 465) and epigraphic *quoiei* are re-formations on the basis of the genitive. The reviewer does not recognize the "Plautinische Messung *quōīi*" which Ehrlich cites (p. 77). If there really is any such form, it should rather be spelled *quō-ī* and explained in the same way as *ēi* (below).

The history of the dative of *is* runs parallel; **eīiei* regularly developed into monosyllabic *ei*. Spondaic *eīīi* is due to the influence of the genitive. The iambic form probably arose from the analogy of *isti* and the other pronominal datives; *istum:isto:istī=eum:eo:eī*. That the early dramatists used both the spondaic and the iambic forms of the dative of *is* there is no doubt, but for monosyllabic *ei* the evidence is not so satisfactory. None of the passages cited by Neue-Wagener (II, 378 f.) really demands a

¹ One misses a reference to this article on p. 73.

monosyllable; that pronunciation has metrical guaranty only in Cat. 82. 3 (hexameter):

eripere *ei* noli multo quod carius illi
est oculis

But if there was a monosyllabic dative of *is* in Catullus' time there may have been one a hundred and fifty years earlier. The reviewer has shown (*Contraction in the Case Forms of the Latin io- and iā-stems*, p. 18) that the nature of early prosody prevents our distinguishing a long monosyllable from an iambic word in the iambic and trochaic verses of the early dramatists unless it occurs (1) as the final syllable of an iambic cadence, or (2) as the second syllable of a resolved thesis or arsis, being shortened by the iambic law, or (3) where the meter requires the complete loss of the word by elision. Consequently our failure to prove the presence of such a form in the dramatic poets does not create a presumption that it is non-existent. We need have little hesitation about reading *ei* as a diphthong where, for example, it balances the monosyllabic genitive, as in Ter. *Ph.* 188: "Efus me miseret, *ei* nunc timeo, is nunc me retinet. . . ." The point with which we are at present concerned is that this monosyllabic *ei* is the regularly developed dative parallel with *quoi* and *hoic*.

There are, of course, some difficulties in the way of assuming that unaccented *ei* became *-i* in preliterate times, but they are none of them fatal. The locatives *Brundisii* (Enn.) and *Sunii* (Ter.) beside contracted genitives such as *ingeni* were long ago adequately explained by Lachmann: "illud *i*, quod est ante notam casus, Graecum videbatur, ut more Latino praeteriri non posset." Cato's *Lavini* is in all probability correctly recorded.

Tibei, etc. (*sibei*, *SC. de Bacch.*), can no longer be directly connected with Osc. *sifet* and Paelignian *tfei*. The Latin forms, like OB. *tebē*, *sebē*, contain Indo-European *-bhoi*, while the Umbrian and Paelignian words go with OPr. *tebbei*, *sebbei*, and show the *e*-grade, *-bhei*. The reduced grade of the suffix appears in Greek *-φι*.

Since the dative singular of consonant stems is found with diphthongal spelling several times before the sound *i* begins to be written *ei* (e.g., *virtulei*, *CIL* I, 30), it is necessary to give up Solmsen's (*KZ.* XLIV, 161 ff.) connection of it with Oscan *medikei*, etc., on the basis of an Indo-European dative ending *-ei*. This is the more regrettable in view of *recei* in the old Forum inscription. If this form contains a dative suffix *-ai*, we must assume that the inscription is later than the weakening of unaccented *ai*.

Ehrlich is probably wrong in assuming (p. 72) on the basis of Plautine *dī*, *dīs*, *ī*, and *īs* that in dissyllabic words even unaccented *oi* and *ai* had become *ī* in Plautus' day. It is far simpler to suppose that the sound group *-eī* contracted to *-ē*, which later became *-i*. The forms *dīi*, etc., were merely orthographical representations of *dīs*, etc. (See my *Contraction in the Case Forms of the Latin io- and iā-stems and of deus, is, and idem*, pp. 15 ff.)

Ehrlich's treatment of his subject is independent and suggestive throughout. Even where his conclusions fail to be accepted, his novel grouping of the evidence will lead to numerous advances in our knowledge.

Misprints are very few. The only one of any consequence that has been observed is in l. 3 of p. 28, where one should read $\pm - | \pm$ for $\pm \cdot | \pm$.

E. H. STURTEVANT

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I Fasti Consolari Romani. By GIOVANNI COSTA. Milan: Libreria Editrice Milanese, 1910. Vol. I, Parts 1 and 2. Pp. x+547; 150.

L'Originale dei Fasti Consolari. By GIOVANNI COSTA. Rome: E. Loescher & Co., 1910. Pp. 77.

These books are a monument of zeal and patience if not of wisdom. In the preface of the first the author states that he proposes to initiate a "radical and fundamental" reform in the study of Roman history by substituting a consistent inductive method for what he regards as the more or less haphazard method of criticism hitherto in vogue. With this laudable purpose in mind he devotes this volume to an exhaustive study of the lists of magistrates of the republic, intending in the second volume to restore the original, which he calls the *spina dorsale* of Roman history, and to draw such conclusions as may be based upon it. It is perhaps unfair to pass final criticism before the constructive part of the work is in our hands, but it is at least proper to express grave doubt as to the surpassing value of this *spina dorsale*. It is not of great importance, for our real appreciation and understanding of the development of the history of Rome, that we should know whether a Fabius or a Claudius was consul in any particular year. So our eagerness to know what revolutionary use Costa will make of such facts when determined is all the more keen.

His theory is in brief this: In literature and on the monuments we have two distinct traditions of the list of magistrates of the first three centuries of the republic, both derived from the records of the pontiffs, the *Annales pontificum*. One, which he calls the chronographic, was that of the revised form of the *Annals*, published by Q. Mucius Scaevola, and known as the *Annales maximi*. This was the basis of the chronicles of Nepos and Atticus and of Varro's work, and is preserved for us with varying degrees of accuracy in Diodorus, Cicero, Velleius, the *Fasti Consulares* and *Triumphales* on the Regia, Tacitus, Cassius Dio, Pliny, and the *Chronograph* of 354 A.D. The other tradition was based on the *Libri lintei* made up from the *Annales pontificum* in the latter part of the fourth century B.C. This was a simple list, and preserved for the earlier period a greater degree of authenticity than the more elaborate *Annales* themselves, which suffered at the hands of editors

from Cn. Flavius to Scaevola. This was the version employed by the earlier annalists—Fabius, Cato, Piso, Tubero, Licinius—and found in Livy, Dionysius, Appian, Valerius Maximus and Plutarch. Valerius Antias distorted it to suit his own purposes, and the combination of his version and the more genuine one of Livy is seen in the *Epitome* of the latter. Besides these two traditions we must, for the later period, take a certain amount of contemporary evidence into account, but it is with the period before the Second Punic War that the investigation is mainly concerned.

The task that the author has set before himself is to establish from the extant material the existence of these two traditions, to differentiate them satisfactorily, to show that each historian or writer is following one or the other, and to explain apparent discrepancies and contradictions. Furthermore, as the tradition seems in some cases to have been contaminated, it is necessary to show how this condition has come about. For instance, Plutarch represents the annalistic tradition, but certain statements of his can be traced to the chronographic tradition as given by Cicero, Varro, and the source of Velleius which was here akin to Fenestella as represented by Asconius—all three of which influenced Plutarch at different times!

To the accomplishment of this task—the magnitude of which is only equaled by the naïve assurance of the author that he has been successful—Costa brings ripe scholarship, an astonishing command of the material, and a still more astonishing degree of ingenuity in the combination of data. In the opinion of the reviewer, however, his elaborate argument fails to carry conviction. It is developed by successive inferences from quite uncertain hypotheses, which in the author's mind have gradually established themselves as facts. There is no weight of cumulative evidence; and each step in the process is less certain than the preceding. The method is the same for each source discussed, and the same criticism holds for each, but to illustrate the process in any adequate way would require too much space.

Failure to prove his main thesis, however, does not by any means render all of Costa's work idle, and much valuable information may be gathered from the painstaking analysis to which each of the sources in question has been subjected, although this is carried too far and often becomes fanciful. In the second part of the volume the author presents in tabular form, with annotations, lists of magistrates made up from Cicero, Diodorus, Asconius, Cassius Dio, Pliny, Polybius, the *Epitome* of Livy, and the sources of Eutropius and Orosius. This material is arranged in convenient form and will be found very useful for reference.

The second of the two books under consideration illustrates again the imagination and ingenuity of the author. From his study of the lists of military tribunes with consular power for the thirty-four years in which these lists are given in our sources with variations in number and order, he comes to the conclusion that these variations are to be explained primarily by the boustrophedonic method of writing employed in the original. Furthermore, the

lists of successive years were not written on separate lines but followed each other without spacing, and therefore might be read in different ways. For instance, for the year 350 AUC we find in the *Fasti Capitolini* and Diodorus the names arranged in this order: P. Cornelius, Cn. Cornelius, Fabius, Nautius, Valerius, Sergius; while in Livy the last two precede the others. This Costa regards as evidence that the original read thus—

- | | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|------------|-------------|
| 1. P. Cornelius | 2. Cn. Cornelius | 3. Fabius | 4. Nautius |
| | | 6. Sergius | 5. Valerius |

and that this original reading was copied in different ways. This is a simple case compared with some, but each apparent exception furnishes another opportunity for an ingenious combination.

This boustrophedonic method, therefore, having been proved for the lists of military tribunes, must be applied to the entire fasti of the earlier period, and, in the author's opinion, it is this that was the ultimate cause of variation between the two subsequent traditions, the chronographic and annalistic. In an appendix we have a table which represents Costa's idea of the appearance of the original *fasti* from 330 to 387 AUC. Much that he says is plausible, but the theory is pushed too far, and the superstructure topples of its own weight.

S. B. P.

A Study of Augustine's Versions of Genesis. By JOHN S. McINTOSH.

Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1912. Pp. x+130.

75 cents net.

This dissertation, after a few introductory pages which review various theories of the origin and nature of the Old Latin Bible, selects for especial attention the Book of Genesis as it is known from quotations in the works of Augustine. The study falls into three main divisions: (1) a reconstruction of the text; (2) an analysis of the varying forms of the quotations found in different places in Augustine's writings; and (3) a consideration of the Latinity of the Old Latin Genesis.

In the first part Dr. McIntosh follows wherever available the modern editions of Dombart, Knöll, and the editors of the *Vienna Corpus*; elsewhere, ignoring the work of the Benedictines of St. Maur, he follows the text of its reprint by Migne. The quotations collected are printed continuously on pp. 13-43, but the list of passages from which they are taken is inconveniently deferred to pp. 125-30. Tested by a random examination of the *indices locorum* of several volumes of the *Vienna Corpus* and a hasty search through a few hundred pages in various volumes of Migne's edition, the collection of quotations appears fairly exhaustive. There should be added to it, however, Gen. 6:22 (found in *Retract.* 2, 80, and apparently noted by McIntosh himself later, on p. 49), and Gen. 10:1 (found, in part, in *De civ.* 16, 3). In Gen. 17:3 the proper reading is *suam* not *tuam*.

For chaps. 1-3 we are happily able to compare nearly complete versions in Augustine's two works, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* and *De Genesi ad litteram*, and again in chap. 1 these two with a third very full version from *De Genesi imperfectus liber*. These texts have been printed in parallel columns. Yet it is unfortunate that both in these chapters and elsewhere the author does not attempt to cite every passage in Augustine in which a given quotation appears, but merely gives every variant found. For the value of full testimonia is not to be despised, especially in cases of doubt as to whether Augustine is quoting freely or verbatim. The collection of variant readings (pp. 43-57) attempts at first to give not only variants in different works by Augustine but also variants in the MSS of a single work. Since, however, the latter readings are very vaguely cited as those of "some MSS," little is gained by this sort of precision, and it is at once discarded.¹ To the list of variants additions might be made, for example: 3:5; cf. *Con. Iul.* 5, 17; 3:18; cf. *Con. Iul.* 1, 17; 3:24; cf. *Retract.* 2, 50; in 6:7 the best reading of *Retract.* 1, 26 is not identical with that cited from *De Trin.* 1, 1; 6:9; cf. *De civ.* 16, 12; 22:18 is indeed often quoted in the form noted on p. 54, but sometimes also with the omission of *terrae*.

Much of the detailed analysis on pp. 58-65, with its classification of differences in the quotations, appears to the reviewer to prove little save that variants vary, but the view maintained in the following pages that Augustine used different texts of Genesis at different times, that, as a whole, his earlier works employ a freer and his later works a more literally translated version, and that the points of likeness between these different versions are so many and striking that they must be derived from the same original translation seems not improbable.

In his third section Dr. McIntosh discusses the Latinity of the Old Latin Genesis under the headings of Word Formation and Inflection (following Cooper's *Word-Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius*), Vocabulary, Syntax, and Style, and concludes that for the peculiarities found in the work the influence of Greek (and of Hebrew through the LXX) is responsible in much larger degree than is the Vulgar Latin, and that of the latter too little occurs to enable one to point with any certainty to the country in which the Old Latin translation was made.

A considerable number of misprints have been noted, and a few inadvertences apparently not due to the printer, e.g., p. 1, Sabatier's work "was published at Remis"; p. 44, "In Epist. Ioannem"; p. 47, "in Speculum Mark"; on p. 89, n. 1, the citation of Servius should be made directly rather than through the medium of Lindsay's *Latin Language*.

The author contemplates, as he announces on pp. 10 and 79, an enlargement of his work, to include a study of the Old Latin Genesis as quoted by other Latin Fathers. If this can be made with greater consideration of the

¹A similar indefiniteness in stating the worth of MS variants is found on p. 70, ll. 10 ff.

textual variations involved and with more complete citations of all sources than the present work contains it should be a useful contribution to our knowledge of one of the most perplexing fields in Latin philological study.

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Companion to Roman History. By H. STUART JONES. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912. Pp. xii+472. \$5.00.

The purpose of this book, a companion volume to Barnard's *Companion to English History*, is to treat those subjects that can be illustrated from material remains. The introductory chapter is devoted to a discussion of the earliest settlements of the Italians, the development of their town and land systems, including the city of Rome, and roads and sea routes. Then follow chapters on architecture, war, religion, production and distribution, money, public amusements, and art. Each section is provided with a short bibliography; and there are seven maps, eighty plates, sixty-four cuts, and the necessary indexes. Footnotes are admitted, but not in such numbers as to be burdensome. The bibliographies do not pretend to be exhaustive, but are in general quite up to date and ample, the only striking omission noted being that of Narducci, *Sulla Fognatura della Città di Roma*, Rome, 1889, from the list of works on p. 154 that deal with the drainage system of the city. The illustrations are excellent and well selected.

Immediate comparison is suggested between this book and Sandys' *Companion to Latin Studies*, which covers a far wider field, contains almost twice as many pages, and costs only a dollar more. All the topics treated by Stuart Jones are also treated in Sandys' book, but in less detail. Excluding the chapter on architecture, the space devoted to other topics by Stuart Jones is nearly twice that given by Sandys, while the former's chapter on architecture is five times as long as the latter's. The most striking difference between the two books is that Sandys' is the work of several scholars, while the other is entirely the work of one. In the nature of the case it must be largely a compilation, and the author acknowledges his obligations, but the book has the advantage of possessing unity of plan and method.

To undertake alone so comprehensive a work in these days of collaboration demands a considerable degree of self-confidence, and a willingness to expose oneself to criticism from many sides, but so far as the reviewer is able to judge the author has done his work remarkably well. There are of course statements that may be challenged, but the author will usually be found to have good reasons for his own views, or to be relying on recognized authorities. Even in those fields farthest removed from art and architecture, where he speaks as a master, the result is eminently satisfactory, and the book is characterized by a clearness and directness of statement that leaves little

to be desired. If any criticism is to be passed on the plan of the book it is that the space devoted to architecture seems disproportionately long.

A very few minor inaccuracies may be noted. On map 3 the cippus of Claudius near the porta Salaria, discovered in 1909 (*NS.* 1909, 45; *BC.* 1909, 130), is not marked. The statement on p. 56 in regard to the relative widths of brick and mortar at different periods will probably have to be modified in view of the recent investigations of Miss Van Deman (*AJA.* 1912, 387). Fig. 13, the plan of the temple of Venus and Roma, is incorrect in exhibiting a staircase on the north side between the apses. The actual ruins show that such a staircase existed only on the south side (cf. Rivoira, *Lombardic Architecture*, II, 100 ff.; *Nuova Antologia*, 1910, 631 ff.). The existence of a *portus lignarius* (p. 155) on the Tiber is probably an unjustifiable inference from Livy xxxv. 41, although it has been admitted by topographers, including the reviewer. The remark in n. 1 on p. 290 that the "Romans sat at meals" should be modified; and how the statement on p. 304 that the *Georgics* is the "greatest didactic poem ever written" is to be justified in the presence of the *De rerum natura*, the reviewer does not know.

There are a few misprints but they are insignificant. It does seem a little strange, however, to find an English scholar writing (p. 171) that the *villa rustica* "borrowed something of the commodity of the Italian pleasure-house" when "commodity" in this sense has been marked as obsolete by Webster for at least thirty years; and again on p. 95, "such market-places gave birth to urban communities" where the figure is as inappropriate as possible.

This book deserves a hearty welcome and will prove a very useful and convenient manual.

S. B. P.

Commentationes Aenipontanae quas edunt E. Kalinka et A. Zingerle.

IV.

The fourth volume of this series contains three articles. The first, by Zingerle (pp. 1-5), contains a brief summary of the philological manuscripts or fragments of manuscripts—fifteen in all—in the libraries of the Tyrol, that have been published or commented upon, with references to the literature. The second article, "Zur Würdigung Polyäns," by Guido Müller (pp. 5-16), is a study based on a careful comparison of the *στρατηγήματα* of Polyænus and the parallel sections of the similar work of Frontinus. The differences are such as one might expect between the work of a Greek rhetorician and lawyer and that of a Roman expert on the subject. Müller's characterization of Polyænus is apt and fair. The last article, by Lechner (pp. 17-104), is an elaborate description and collation of an Innsbruck manuscript (No. 579), containing Ovid's *Remedia amoris*, with marginal and interlinear annotations. The peculiarities of spelling, the abbreviations,

etc., are discussed at length, the annotations are printed in full (31 pages), and a tabulated comparison with the readings of a large number of manuscripts and early editions is given. The codex is found to be closely related to the Gudianus and the Sedlerianus and to the editions printed at Venice and Bâle. The labor expended in this study is out of all proportion to the results obtained; the writer deserved a better manuscript for his investigations.

CHARLES H. BEESON

Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaft zur Einführung in das Studium der deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit. Herausgegeben von ALOYS MEISTER. Bd. I, Abteilung 1, "Lateinische Paläographie." Von BERTHOLD BRETHOLZ. Zweite Auflage. Pp. 112. M. 2.40.

Although the present treatise is intended primarily for students of mediaeval and modern German history, it appeals to a wider circle of readers and can be used to advantage by a student whose interest is purely philological. It has been made available for this larger circle by the fact that it, like the other articles in the *Grundriss*, is published separately. This arrangement makes it possible, through the independent revision of the various parts as occasion demands, to keep the work as a whole on a level with the latest investigation and saves the purchaser the expense of buying the whole work when some of its parts have become out of date. That this flexibility is not without its advantages for the publisher is shown by the fact that a second edition of the "Latin Palaeography" was called for even before all the parts had appeared in a first edition.

Bretholz has divided his work into two parts. In the first part (pp. 6-35) he discusses the *Schriftwesen* in three chapters, "Schreibstoffe," "Formen der Schriftwerke," and "Verbreitung und Aufbewahrung der Schriftwerke." Nothing important has been omitted, and the full bibliographies, both here and in the second part, supply the student with a complete apparatus for a more detailed study.

The second part (pp. 35-112), "Entwicklung der Lateinischen Schrift," seems a little distorted from the standpoint of the classical philologist—over three pages are devoted to the script of the Curia as against about one and a half pages for the Beneventan and two pages for the Visigothic script—but from the point of view of the historian the relatively fuller treatment of the cursive and of the later periods of the book scripts may be justified. Bretholz traces the evolution of the script from stage to stage, describes the different scripts, citing specimens from the various collections of facsimiles, and states the problems connected with them, giving full references to the literature on the subject. He has condensed a surprising amount of information into a relatively small space.

In a compendium of this sort that deals with such a vast amount of details a few lapses are inevitable. On p. 5, Thompson's *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography* is cited in the second edition (1894); the third edition appeared in 1906 and the fourth, which has just been published, has been announced for some time; p. 33, Bretholz seems to adhere to the old view that Cassiodore was a Benedictine; p. 61, n. 5, Westwood's *Facsimiles of the Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts* (London 1868) should be mentioned along with the Palaeographical Society as furnishing "das reichste und schönste Material an Proben irisch-angelsächsischer Schrift insularer Provenienz"; p. 97, the practice of putting strokes over two *i*'s began in the eleventh century rather than the twelfth; p. 110, the Salzburg Computus of 1143 is not, as Bretholz states, the earliest European manuscript that contains Arabic numerals; neither is it, as Steffens claims (*Lateinische Paläographie*, Einleitung, p. xxxix), the earliest German manuscript containing them. Hill, "Early Use of Arabic Numerals in Europe" (*Archaeologia*, LXII [1910], 170, 171), cites MSS from Madrid, Zürich (St. Gall), Erlangen (Altdorf), Rome, Chartres, and Paris that are older. A few misprints occur: p. 34, read "library" for "liberey"; p. 38, read "Glauning" for "Glanning"; p. 39, read "Van den Gheyn" for "Van den Ghein"; p. 55, read "Jarrow" for "Tarrow"; p. 61, the English word "and" (=et) has crept into the text.

CHARLES H. BEESON

The Apostolic Fathers. With an English Translation by KIRSOPP LAKE. In two volumes. ("Loeb Classical Library.") New York: Macmillan, 1912. Pp. viii+409; 396. \$1.50 each.

The writings of the Apostolic Fathers fill two volumes of the "Loeb Classical Library." The work of Professor Kirsopp Lake in editing them is of the scholarly standard to be desired in presenting for the first time in a really accessible form for general reading works so important for the early history of Christianity. The first volume contains the two Epistles to the Corinthians ascribed to Clement of Rome, the seven genuine Epistles of Ignatius, the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, and the Epistle of Barnabas; and the Shepherd of Hermas, the Martyrdom of Polycarp, and the Epistle to Diognetus make up the second. The introductions, giving in each case a summary of information about the author and the manuscripts of the work, are carefully and concisely written. The text, as the editor informs us, has been revised, and enough of the variants have been noted for an edition of this kind; in cases where there has evidently been corruption and the true reading is in doubt, he usually prints the suggested emendations at the bottom of the page and in the translation gives what the context most probably calls for. In I Clement 44:6, for example, ἐκ τῆς ἀμείντως

αὐτοῖς τετιμημένης λειτουργίας is translated "from the ministry which they fulfilled blamelessly," with Lightfoot's emendation of τετιμημένης to τετηρημένης noted.

The translation, however, is the really important part of a volume of the Loeb series. In this particular case the editor is to be congratulated on his accuracy; but the criticism can justly be made that sometimes through close following of the text his translation has lost in the qualities of flexibility and life. This is more noticeable in the first volume than in the second, and is no doubt due to the style of the original. Where the Greek style is jerky, as in the Epistles of Ignatius, the translation shows, perhaps rightly, the same qualities; but in the more smoothly flowing Shepherd, for example, the English too has more grace. The editor has apparently taken the King James Version of the Bible to a certain extent as a model, though not entirely, even in the scriptural quotations; however, "I cannot away with your new moons and sabbaths" (Barnabas 2:5; 15:8) may prove disconcerting to those who do not recall the obsolete expression of the King James translators. As a specimen section of the translation, Ignatius *ad Rom.* 8 may be cited: "I no longer desire to live after the manner of men, and this shall be, if you desire it. Desire it, in order that you also may be desired. I beg you by this short letter; believe me. And Jesus Christ shall make this plain to you, that I am speaking the truth. He is the mouth which cannot lie, by which the Father has spoken truly. Pray for me that I may attain. I write to you not according to the flesh but according to the mind of God. If I suffer, it was your favour; if I be rejected, it was your hatred." It will be seen that Professor Lake strives to write in an extremely simple manner and to translate literally. The result is admirable from the utilitarian point of view if not from that of English style.

Though in most passages the meaning of which might be disputed Professor Lake has indicated in a footnote other possible translations, he has made no such comment upon perhaps the best-known expression of Ignatius, ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσταύρωται κτλ. (Ignatius *ad Rom.* 7:2). This he translates, "My lust is crucified, and there is in me no fire of love for material things," without informing the reader that Origen (*Prol. in cant. cantic.*) understood ἔρως to be used in the sense of "object of affection" and to refer to Christ, and that among modern scholars the late Dr. Bigg in a recent work (*The Origins of Christianity*, Oxford, 1909, p. 106) interprets it in the same way.

In very few places, however, would one care to question the accuracy of Professor Lake's translation. In the Epistle to Diognetus, 7:3, "Yes, but did he send him, as a man might suppose, in sovereignty and fear and terror?" ἐπὶ τυραννίδι would perhaps be better rendered by "with a view to," etc. Certainly in the Shepherd, *Sim.* V. 6. 5: τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ πρὸν κτλ., where the text agrees with that in the *corpus Patrum Apostolicorum*, the English translation, "The Holy Spirit which goes forth," is in

error. But these faults are few. There are, however, too many typographical errors in Vol. II; I have noted no less than 23 which have escaped the proofreader's eye.

It should also be noted that the "General Index" and Index of Scriptural References at the end of the second volume add much to the usefulness of the work. The one thing to be regretted in the physical appearance of this handy little edition is that the lines are not spaced uniformly from page to page. Otherwise it is well adapted to its purpose and deserves wide circulation.

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The Governors of Moesia. By SELATIE EDGAR STOUT. Dissertation. Princeton University, 1911. Pp. xii+97. \$0.75.

Scholars of the last generation were all too prone to underrate the individuality of different parts of the Roman world. Now we are coming to realize the need of minute investigations of each province in order to understand the empire as a whole. The historian and the epigraphist are as helpless without an up-to-date prosopographia and accurate chronological tables as the student of literature without a lexicon. Dr. Stout, therefore, is doing useful work when he discusses the evidence for identifying and dating the governors of Moesia. He was particularly fortunate in his choice of province and topic, since a large proportion of the material relating to the Danubian country has been discovered in recent years and is still practically unworked. Thus the original form of the third volume of the *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* (1873) contained only 41 pages devoted to Moesia; the supplements appearing up to 1902 add no fewer than 116 pages. The coins of the region also were made more accessible by Pick's publication in 1899. But though the army of the province has been studied within the last decade by Beuchel, Filow, and Van der Weerd, no thoroughgoing attempt has been made to discuss the civil officials since the very unsatisfactory treatment by Liebenam in 1888.

The reviewer has nothing but praise for the accuracy and skill with which Dr. Stout has performed his laborious task. The citations from the sources are exhaustive, the reasoning sane and independent, the external form beyond reproach. The reader's convenience is consulted by a brief conspectus of the 106 certain governors (pp. 82-85), an *index nominum et rerum*, and an *index verborum* citing 339 inscriptions and 162 passages of 34 authors. One's chief regret is that the historical introduction (pp. ix-xi) is so condensed. For example, Dr. Stout believes that after its conquest by Crassus in 29-28 B.C. Moesia was controlled for a time by native princes but was probably organized as a province several years before 6 A.D.; we should have liked a more detailed presentation of these points, with the evidence for and

against von Premerstein's theory that the provincial organization dates only from 15 A.D. (cf. § 2 and n. 18).

There is a short appendix on certain titles of Septimius Severus, proving that Parth. Max., Imp. XI and XII, and Cos. II fall in 198 A.D. One or two new arguments (§ 4) are added to Gsell's proof that the province was divided by Domitian, probably in 86 or 87 A.D. Until Diocletian the governors were regularly *legati Augusti pro praetore* of consular rank. Between 15 and 44 A.D., however, the consular legate resided in Macedonia and had general oversight of Macedonia and Achaia as well as Moesia, while the legions stationed in Moesia were commanded by a praetorian *legatus*. Dr. Stout infers (§ 9) that the civil and judicial functions in Moesia belonged to the non-resident consular. Yet the grouping of provinces into larger administrative units was generally, if not always, a war measure (so in Moesia itself in the third century; cf. § 5). Is it not more natural, then, to consider the resident, even though only a praetorian, as the real governor, exercising both civil and military power? The extraordinary military ruler of the district (the later *dux* or *praepositus*) would of course outrank any provincial or legionary *legatus* in matters affecting the general conduct of a campaign. There is great need of a thorough treatment of such anomalous and temporary officials in the whole Roman world. Thus I do not believe that the defense of Noricum and Raetia by Pertinax shows him to have been governor of those provinces. (Cf. n. 71 and *University of Chicago Studies in Class. Phil.*, IV, 197, n. 1). On *Iudaea consularis* in *CIL* III, 12117 (n. 89) see *University of Chicago Studies in Class. Phil.*, IV, 200, n. 11; *Class. Phil.*, V, 117.

It is to be hoped that Dr. Stout will continue his work on Moesia.

MARY BRADFORD PEAKS

VASSAR COLLEGE

Menschenart und Heldentum in Homers Ilias. Von DR. HEINRICH SPIESS. Paderborn: Schöningh, 1913. Pp. vi+314. M. 4.50.

Doctor Spiess set for himself the task of presenting a series of descriptions or pictures of life and character as represented in the *Iliad*. The pictures are of the men themselves, not of their material or economic conditions. As an introduction there are three chapters dealing with the joys and activities of life, with the ties of society, friendship, and the family, and with religion, piety, and morals. After this general introduction there follow detailed and separate portraits of each of the leading actors of the poem. The book makes no pretense of handling the literature or any of the problems of composition. The Homeric question is ignored, and each character of the poem is presented exactly as he appears in the poem itself. Every part of the *Iliad* is treated as original, and nothing is omitted. The unity of character and personality thus shown is a striking and effective answer to the statement made by Wilamowitz: "It is folly to speak of Achilles or Odysseus, as if either of them had a character."

The book is written with deep and accurate knowledge of the *Iliad*, and shows sympathetic appreciation of its poetic beauties. The very nature of the work makes a detailed review impossible, since it has no single theme, but presents a train of comments grouped about the individual characters drawn by Homer. These comments are all excellent, some are brilliant.

No other writer of my acquaintance has given such an adequate description of humanity as shown in the *Iliad*, or has so fully appreciated the poet's great ability in the individualization of character. The author has added to the pleasure of the book by the modesty with which it is written.

JOHN A. SCOTT

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

A Student's Edition of the Odes of Horace, Books I to III. The Monumentum Aere Perennius. By E. R. GARNSEY. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1910. Pp. 321.

The purpose of this edition, which is to be followed by a volume on the "so-called Fourth Book of *Odes*," is to "deliver Horatian exegesis from the rut in which it has lain impeded for so long." In Mr. Garnsey's opinion "the body of Horatian comment is incohesive and the first touch of analysis is fatal to it." Other statements that will serve to give some idea of his contempt for the rank and file of Horatian editors are (p. 3): "That Q. Horatius Flaccus had a soul at all, above that of the merry king in the nursery rhyme who called for his glass and his fiddlers, is, I find, not yet a fact of universal admission"; and the following: "Yes, that is true, many critical mountains have been in labor over Horace, and they have brought forth something, which, if it be disrespectful to call it ridiculous, may be fairly described as puzzling. With regard to the *Odes* this is not surprising, if they have tried to explain him without reference to his real subject." This "real subject," Garnsey thinks, is the career of Murena. The three books form a unit, and are founded on a tragedy involving many motives. The first book serves as a prologue, touching on events that precede the dénouement. Among the odes containing political allusions are others referring to the character or career of Murena, who is the villain of the play. In the second book we find more direct references to the protagonists (cf. ii. 2; ii. 10; ii. 17). At the beginning of the third book the poet seizes the opportunity to give expression to the aspirations of Roman patriots, but his verses are throughout affected by the special circumstances of Murena's plot. Then the story is resumed and the tragedy is unfolded.

This interpretation of the *Odes* seems to have been inspired by Verrall's essay on Murena in his *Studies in Horace*. Verrall, placing the publication of the collection in the winter of 20-19 B.C., sees in these three books "'An Ode of Fortune,' a descant in various moods upon the perishing pleasures, the certain, and often sudden, death of man—touched with something of

tragedy by the awful story, so near to Horace and to his readers, of which the outline is so powerfully dashed in. What the fall of Antonius is to the hymn to the Queen of Antium, that the fall of Murena is to the entire work." But Garnsey goes much farther than Verrall. He is obsessed by the idea that allusions to Murena lurk everywhere in the *Odes*. Through Murena he believes that he can solve all the old puzzles of the *Odes* and give a new and profound significance to innumerable passages where current interpretation only touches the surface. As regards the question of date, he not only assumes that the publication could not have taken place before 22 B.C. (the date of Murena's conspiracy), but thinks it possible that not a single one of the odes was composed before that year.

It would be tedious to enumerate the passages where Garnsey discovers references to Murena. The mildest moral commonplaces, philosophic reflexions of the most general type, descriptions of wealth and luxury, and pictures of dinner parties or drinking-bouts are one and all dragged into connection with the conspiracy of 22 B.C. For example, the career of Murena and its effect on the fortunes of Maecenas are said to be the real theme of vss. 9-29 of the first ode of the first book. In *Od. i. 2. 13 ff.* (*Vidimus flammam Tiberim relortis*, etc.) the reference is not merely to the assassination of Julius Caesar but also to the situation in 22 B.C. The note on *monstra natantia* (i. 3. 18) is typical of our editor's attitude, for he tells us here that we must not assume that Horace's words are without point because we fail to see one: the subject of sea monsters is not unassociated with the story of Murena. These examples are taken from the first three odes of the first book. So far as my examination has gone, the ode in which there is not some equally pertinent reference to Murena is an exception.

As an example of the driving power of an *idée fixe* the book is remarkable, but as a contribution to the literature of Horace it cannot be taken seriously.

G. J. LAING

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Studies in Fronto and His Age. By M. DOROTHY BROCK. "Girton College Studies," No. V. London: Cambridge University Press, 1911.

Few readers of these "Studies"—and they merit attention from the many—will approach the subject with any considerable interest in Fronto. Scholars have been largely guided in the case of this author by the pronouncements of his first editors, at whose hands he had short shrift and little justice. The present work is not an attempt at wholesale rehabilitation. The author has admitted perforce the failure of Fronto as a historian, has sensibly allowed his oratorical claims to remain in abeyance, and has grounded her defense upon the contributions of Fronto to literary criticism, and his achievements, as, not the founder, but the earnest and influential advocate of

an important and, as may appear, a salutary movement by Latin writers for the enrichment of the written speech.

The most suggestive chapters in Miss Brock's work deal with Archaism, Fronto's Theory of Oratory and Style, Fronto as a Literary Critic and Fronto's Vocabulary and Style. The conclusions reached impress one as sound, and are certainly the result of a careful study of all the literature in any way concerned with these topics. In addition to a complete bibliography, there are numerous footnotes containing exact references to the authorities cited. Since many important contributions to this subject have appeared only in periodicals, the exhaustive references here contained are particularly valuable. The elaborate appendix on African Latinity has the same merits as the foregoing, though it contains little that may be called original. The theory of a peculiar literary language indigenous to Africa hardly requires further reputation, since it has been abandoned and exploded by its chief apostle. Miss Brock reviews and compresses the scattering discussions of this theory and, in support of her negative conclusions, presents a collection of so-called Africanisms, paralleled, so far as possible, by similar examples from non-African authors. This collection, with the appended bibliography, might well serve as an introduction to the study of Vulgar Latin.

Besides these features there is added a fairly full selection from the *Letters* of Fronto, with a translation which is generally adequate. The text alone represents considerable labor, as it owes much to conjectures published in various periodicals since the appearance of Maber's edition. The intrusion of "ad" in iv. 3, l. 52, "ad significando," seems to require some explanation. In the famous Fable on Sleep, the rendering of "Iunonem partus plerosque nocturnos ciere," "that Juno gave birth to most of her children at night," is quaintly ambiguous, if not a palpable mistranslation. It is possible also to doubt some other interpretations, for example, on "feci compendium" (i. 1. 3.), but there is surprisingly little place for unfavorable criticism in this thoroughly interesting and valuable piece of work.

KEITH PRESTON

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

The Religious Experience of the Roman People from the Earliest Times to the Age of Augustus. By W. WARDE FOWLER, M.A.
London: Macmillan, 1911. Pp. xviii+504.

In this work Professor Fowler has collected the two series of Gifford Lectures which he delivered in 1909-10 at Edinburgh University. To each lecture he has appended numerous notes which give references to ancient and modern authorities together with many *obiter dicta*. This arrangement is a good one, affording the general reader an uninterrupted view of the development of religious ideas among the Romans, and giving

the specialist ample material for the investigation of abstruse questions. Adopting in Lecture I Professor I. W. Howerth's definition of religion as "the effective desire to be in right relation to the Power manifesting itself in the universe," he discusses the difficulties of the subject and the proper use of evidence furnished by archaeology and anthropology; in Lectures II and III he treats the survivals in later times of the magic and taboo of the primitive ages; in IV, the more developed and animistic worship of the early agricultural family; in V, the beginnings of organized state-religion as shown in the "Calendar of Numa;" Lectures VI and VII are devoted to a consideration of the early Roman ideas of divinity and the character of their deities; VIII and IX treat the rites pertaining to sacrifice, vows, purifications, etc.; X summarizes the merits and defects of this early stage and explains the later influx of new gods and new conceptions.

In the second series the topics are: (XI) admission of Greek deities into the state-worship and the influence of the Sibylline Books; (XII and XIII) the work of the pontifices and augurs; (XIV) the prodigies and religious panic during the war with Hannibal; (XV) the manipulation of religious institutions for political purposes and the excesses of foreign cults in the second century B.C.; (XVI and XVII) the influence of Greek philosophy and mysticism on the religious beliefs of the last centuries of the Republic; (XVIII) Virgil as the exponent of Roman religion, especially of *pietas*; (XIX) the Augustan revival of worship; (XX) the contribution of Roman religion to Christianity. The book closes with several appendices on mooted questions such as the Lupercalia and the pairs of deities named in Aulus Gellius xiii. 23.

It is impossible in this review even to mention all the merits of these lectures, which are a mine of information upon Roman religion and contain many suggestions for other fields of study. However, the reviewer is especially impressed with the sane remarks on the proper use of evidence upon the subject; the vivid portrayal of the simple religion of the early farmers; the vindication of Roman prayers and ritual from the charges of dull formalism and of mercenary bargaining; the clear description of the work of the pontifices in systematizing the worship; the brilliant description of the new ceremonies introduced to allay the panic during the Second Punic War; and the account of Virgil's work in reviving faith by the example of Aeneas' *pietas*.

Dr. Fowler adheres closely to the principles which he lays down on p. 7 of the book, viz., to keep the subject in continual touch with Roman history, and to exercise all possible care in dealing with the technical matters of religion. The reader becomes absorbed in the volume as a history, not only of Roman religion, but also of the development of the nation; and the accuracy and sober judgment with which the author has sifted the evidence on doubtful points are everywhere conspicuous. Thus he admits the presence of taboo and magic in many religious rites, but sees no sign of totemism.

He convincingly refutes Frazer's theory of the magician-king (pp. 49-53) as well as his theory of married deities. He advances strong arguments against Wissowa's conjecture that the *Argei* represented Greeks who were at some earlier period sacrificed by drowning. On the other hand, he supports Wissowa's explanation of the *indigitamenta* as forms of invocation.

Furthermore, many original suggestions and theories occur. One of these, of especial interest to students of literature, deals with the manner of singing the *Carmen Saeculare*. On p. 108 it is conjectured that the *Flamen Dialis*, whose bondage to the taboos imposed upon him points to a very primitive origin, was the representative of the ancient priest of Juppiter Latiaris, who was transferred to Rome when that city became the chief center of Latium. The sacrificial words *macte esto* are explained (pp. 182 ff.) as based on the idea that "a mystic current of religious force passed through the victim from priest to deity and perhaps back again." As a solution of the vexed problem of the original function of Mars the author suggests (pp. 132 ff.) that the god was not a spirit of either agriculture or war alone, but a divinity of the wilder regions on the outskirts of civilization, to be propitiated both for help against enemies beyond, and for the protection of crops and cattle within, the boundaries of human activity.

On p. 77 we find the theory that the *Lar* was not the spirit of the supposed founder of the family, but presided over the ground belonging to a household; and that his cult was introduced into the house through the slaves who were allowed to participate in the worship of these *Lares Compitalicii* at the hearth as well as at the *compita*. This view, however, rests upon a rather narrow definition of the word *compitum* and upon an ambiguous quotation from Cato *De Agricultura* 5, which is open to another interpretation.

The appearance of the volume is exceptionally good. Misprints and other errors are rare. For the word "latter" on p. 416 "former" should be read. On page 45, the *Classical Quarterly* is meant.

HAROLD L. AXTELL

UNIVERSITY OF IDAHO

The Works of the Emperor Julian. With an English translation by WILMER CAVE WRIGHT, PH.D. Vol. I. "Loeb Classical Library." New York: Macmillan, 1913. \$1.50.

This first volume contains the two panegyrics on Constantius, the panegyric in honor of Eusebia, and the two difficult neo-Platonic essays, the hymn to King Helios, and the hymn to the Mother of the Gods. Mrs. Wright was well equipped for her task, and has accomplished it in a fashion that does not disappoint the expectations raised by her dissertation on Julian and her history of Greek literature. The translation is smooth, accurate, and idiomatic. The brief introductions place the reader at the right point of view. The footnotes supply all needed dates and references

to the numerous passages of classical literature imitated by Julian. A number of plausible emendations due to Mrs. Wright herself, or communicated by friends, improve corrupt passages of the text, if they do not certainly restore Julian's hand. In 15A she reads with probability from Plato *Rep.* 424D παραδνομένη instead of ὑποδνομένη. In the desperate passage 12D ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν οὐκ ἐβασίλευσε ποικίλων ἡθῶν ἐμπειρίας χρεια she suggests ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν δε. This, I think, indicates the true remedy. But it will hardly bear her translation "Yes, *even* Odysseus who never ruled an empire, etc." (italics mine). By keeping her emendation, and inserting the interrogative τίς after ἐβασίλευσε, we get, I think, the required meaning: "But what need had Odysseus, who never ruled an empire . . . of manifold experience." This prepares us for the contrasted case of Constantius who does need the wide experience which Homer superfluously bestowed upon Odysseus.

PAUL SHOREY

The Old Testament in Greek, According to the Text of Codex Vaticanus, Supplemented from Other Uncial Manuscripts, with a Critical Apparatus Containing the Variants of the Chief Ancient Authorities for the Text of the Septuagint. Part III: Numbers and Deuteronomy. Edited by ALAN ENGLAND BROOKE and NORMAN McLEAN. Cambridge: The University Press, 1911. Pp. 407-676. \$5.

The sumptuous Cambridge edition of the Septuagint which began to appear in 1906 moves slowly forward. Without undertaking to construct a text, it prints that of Vaticanus where it is preserved, falling back where it fails upon Alexandrinus, and giving an elaborate apparatus of the readings of other manuscripts and versions. With the second part (1909) this change was made in method, that where the first hand of Vaticanus stood alone or nearly so, while the second or third had good support, the reading of the first hand should give way to the better attested reading. In this particular, therefore, the printed text of Parts II and III is an improvement upon that of Swete. The fifth-century manuscript of Deuteronomy and Joshua now designated ⑤, which Mr. Freer obtained in Cairo in 1906, was fortunately available in time for use in the apparatus. The accounts given in the Prefatory Note of the manuscripts employed are necessarily brief, but might at least include such particulars as date and contents. The Cambridge editors agree with Professor Sanders that the chief interest of ⑤ is its evidence of the early existence of a text closely related to that of the valuable but late cursives g and n. Some ambiguities and omissions noted by Mr. Sprengling in Professor Sanders' collation of ⑤ (Deut. 7:15; 8:14; 9:11; 18:20; 19:14; 22:8; 27:15, 26; 28:63; 32:8; cf. *Amer. Jour. Theol.*, XV [1911],

114, 115) the editors have settled by the use of the facsimile edition of that manuscript; a few other slight defects remarked by Mr. Sprengling (ποινη[?]-ται [Sanders, ποινηται] for ποινητε Deut. 4:6; κατα for κατ' 4:47; δασειος for δασιος 12:2) have escaped even their practiced scrutiny. The work is as a whole admirably done and well maintains the great Cambridge Septuagint tradition. Since Part III appeared the ninth Oxyrhynchus volume has supplied two mutilated but very ancient papyri of Gen., chaps. 16 and 31, from the third and fourth centuries respectively.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Antike Porträts. Bearbeitet von RICHARD DELBRÜCK. Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber, 1912. Pp. lxxi; Plates 62. M. 6.

This admirable book, whose price appears to be only six marks, follows close upon the similar, but more extensive, work of Dr. Anton Hekler, published in this country under the title *Greek and Roman Portraits*. Both testify to a widespread interest in one of the most fascinating branches of ancient, as of modern, art.

Unlike Dr. Hekler, Professor Delbrück begins with Egyptian portraits, of which he presents fourteen examples on twelve plates. Then follow on Plates 13-57 Greek and Roman portraits, beginning with the Pericles in the British Museum and ending with the painted portrait of one Turtura on the wall of a Roman catacomb. Five additional plates are devoted to intaglios, cameos, coins, and the like.

A reviewer wonders at some omissions from the collection, as well as at some inclusions; but that is the way with reviewers of anthologies generally. Professor Delbrück claims no more for his plates than that they contain "a portion of the best which has survived to us from antiquity in the way of portraiture," and from this modest claim there can be no dissent. It is gratifying to an American to see the extent to which the museums of this country have been drawn upon. No less than ten pieces of sculpture now in New York, Boston, and Cambridge are presented, one of them, the wonderful terracotta head of an elderly Roman in Boston, in three views.

The text is brief. The introductory pages contain illuminating comments on the history and the underlying motives of portraiture in the ancient countries about the Mediterranean. Then follow condensed notes on the individual examples presented. These notes are models of their kind. Although the work is described by its author as addressed to amateurs and not to actual or prospective specialists, there are few, even among serious students, who will not find guidance, as well as gratification, in the materials here brought together.

F. B. TARBELL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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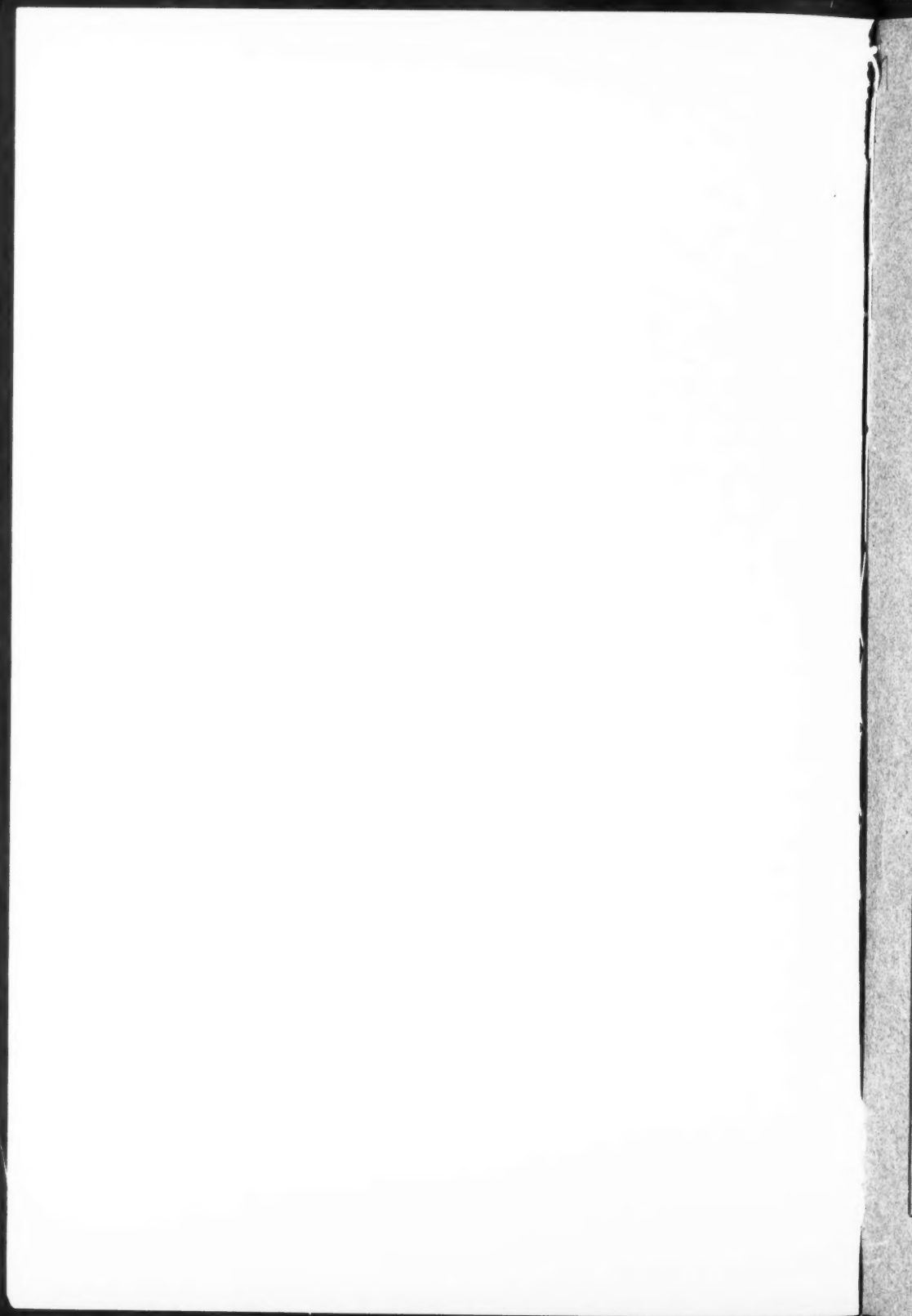
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